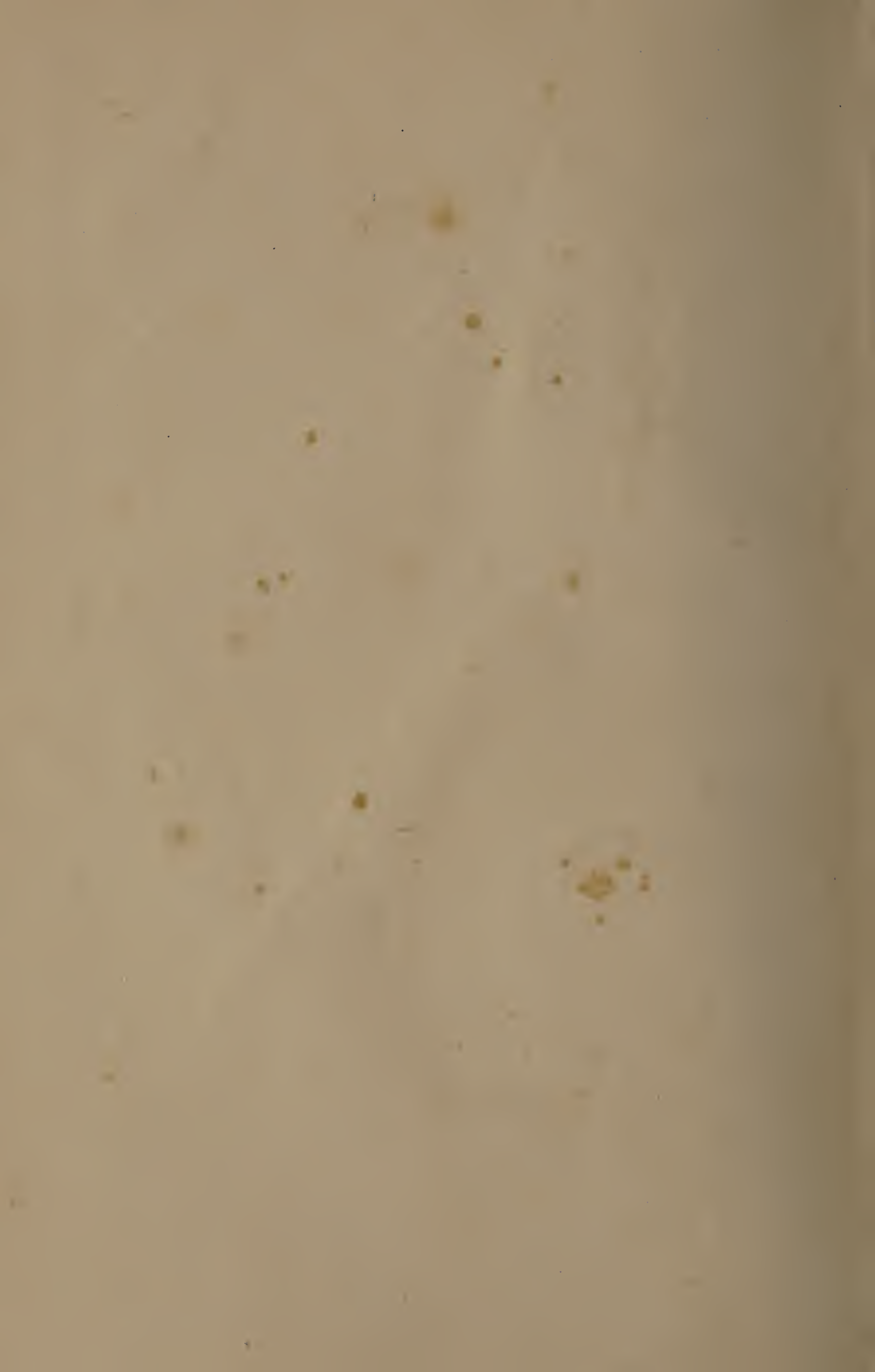




IRISH-1798- COLLECTION

86C#





Chas. S. Perrell

Charles Stewart Parnell

From a steel engraving of the portrait by S. Hollyer

“Parnell . . . with the means in his hands, with the opportunities given to him, with the methods he was compelled to use, will, I believe, be judged by history as having done more solid good, done more for the emancipation of his race, than any other leader of men for many a century gone by.”

William Redmond, M.P.

Charles Stewart Russell

From an steel engraving of the portrait by S. H. Hildner

"Russell . . . with the means in his hands
with the opportunities given to him, with
the methods he was compelled to use, will
I believe be judged by history as having
done more solid good than most of the
civilization of his race, than any other
leader of men for many a century come
off."

William R. Wood, M. S.

IRELAND

UNDER

ENGLISH RULE

OR

A PLEA FOR THE PLAINTIFF

BY

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, M.D., LL.D.
PRESIDENT OF THE IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION OF AMERICA
KNIGHT COMMANDER, ORDER ST. GREGORY THE GREAT



SECOND EDITION, REVISED, AND IN LARGE PART REWRITTEN

VOLUME I.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press

1909

"The chronicles of Ireland written in the Irish language from the second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet have been recently printed with the fullest evidence of their genuineness and exactness. The Irish nation, though they are robbed of their legends by this authentic publication, are yet by it enabled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses—in its present spoken language."

*Dr. John O'Donovan's introduction to his translation
of the Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*

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"If it be objected, that the chronicles of Ireland are liable to suspicion and may be justly questioned, let it be observed in reply that no people in the world took more care to preserve the authority of their public records and to deliver them uncorrupt to posterity."

Keating's History of Ireland

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

*"Weep not for him that is dead, nor bemoan him with your tears; lament him that goeth away, for he shall return no more, nor see his native country."
Jeremías, chapter xxii.*

THIS WORK
IS DEDICATED TO
THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF IRELAND
SCATTERED OVER THE EARTH IN QUEST OF A HOME
DENIED THEM IN THEIR NATIVE LAND

"There are in all human transactions elements of power, the precise action of which we can not calculate, although we can certainly foresee the result. All these elements forbid the exile of the old people. The great conscience of humanity would condemn that mighty wrong no matter how many centuries had watched the progress of the injustice of which it would be the completion. And as surely as the thoughts, the feelings, the passions, and the conscience of multitudes have power over human affairs, so surely, some way or other, will the means be found by which the Irish people may dwell upon Irish land."

Isaac Butt

[*The Irish People and the Irish Land*]

“That if this lande were put once in order as afore-sayd, it would be none other but a very paradise, delicious of all pleasuance to respect and regard of any other lande in this worlde ; in as much as there never was straunger nor alien person, greate or small, that would avoide there from by his will, notwithstanding the said disorder, if he might the meanes to dwell therein, his honesty saved ; much more would be his desire if the lande were once put in order.”

Letter from State Papers of Henry VIII.

[*Author unknown.*]

“Go into the length and breadth of the world, ransack the literature of all countries, find if you can a single book, in which the conduct of England towards Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter condemnation.”

Gladstone—Parliamentary Debates, June 8, 1886.

[*Morley's Life.*]

"For a good government—a nation forms its institutions as a shell-fish forms its shell, by a sort of slow exudation from within which gradually hardens as an external deposit, and must therefore be fitted to the shape of that which it invests and protects."

Aubrey de Vere

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE second edition of *Ireland under English Rule* is essentially a new book. A large portion has been rewritten, and a larger number of pages, printed in the first edition, have been cut out, to make room for new material, than would equal the contents of either the first or second volume. While a portion of the first volume, which contained as an introduction a brief account relating to early Irish history, has been but little changed, much of the remainder has been rewritten or rearranged.

The greater part of the second volume is of new material. Since the first edition was printed the writer has fortunately come into possession of a number of works which could not be obtained and utilized for the first edition, since he had determined to use no quotation at second-hand without consulting the original or a reliable reprint. In addition, the timely publication of Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone* opened a new field covering some fifty years of Mr. Gladstone's public life, a knowledge of which had been previously inaccessible.

From want of reliable material the scope of the first edition, consequently, did not extend beyond the consummation of the fraudulent Union of England and Ireland, January 1, 1801, although it was necessary to trace some of its evil consequences up to the end of the nineteenth century. Necessarily, this could only be presented in a more or less disconnected manner.

The historical narrative is now sufficiently traced from the

later portion of the reign of Henry VIII. to the present time. This covers in outline that portion of Irish history during which the Irish people were strictly under English rule. This feature is again referred to because upon the issue of the first edition the author suffered from unjust criticism from those who neglected to read the preface. He had laid no claim to writing a history of Ireland, because he possessed neither the reliable material nor the literary training for such an undertaking. This complaint is particularly applicable in reference to the early history of Ireland, because the absence of historical details of this period, it was asserted by the critics, rendered the work defective. The injustice of this criticism is shown by the very title of the work, since the rule of England over Ireland was scarcely perfected before the end of Elizabeth's reign.

The author's purpose, therefore, was not to detail the acts of individuals, which embody the history of a country, but to trace cause and effect, as they are shown to have been the concomitant sequence of England's misrule and her jealousy of the Irish people. So-called Irish history is available to every reader, and much of that relating to English domination is of doubtful accuracy, but no other writer has attempted to cover the same special field as the author has done in this work. The student of special information as well as future writers on Irish historical subjects will be able to avail themselves of material not to be found in the same relation elsewhere, and will be able thus to save an incalculable amount of labor.

In this second edition pages have here and there been cut out to gain space for the consideration of new subjects and to keep the work within the limit of two volumes. But one of the most important omissions was the whole of Chapter IV. of the second volume of the first edition. This chapter contained the speech of the Hon. Edward Blake, as delivered in Parliament, March 29, 1897, on the financial relations of Ireland and England. This is the most complete and masterly résumé of this subject up to that date to be

obtained from any source and must always remain valuable for reference.

Nearly all the copious notes and extracts, as printed in the Appendix of the second volume of the first edition, which could not be incorporated in the text, have had to be omitted, but the needed facility for reference has been afforded by foot-notes in the new edition. As there is comparatively so little repetition, the two editions will form essentially a work of four volumes. The libraries and those who have fortunately obtained the first edition must necessarily keep the two editions together for reference, since the portions omitted were of not less value, but were rendered more complete by the additions to be found in the last edition.

In consequence of the advanced age of the writer, it is the more to be expected that his labors will cease with the issue of this edition. But if, among the possibilities of the future, from delay in granting Home Rule, there should be a demand for continued research in this by no means exhausted field, the presentation of additional information bearing on the misrule of England could only be issued to the public on the same general plan, but probably with a common index in addition.

No feature of the work will give the student greater satisfaction than the index to the second edition, in the arrangement of which an attempt has been made to have it as nearly exhaustive as possible. The accomplishment of this desideratum has been prompted by the vivid recollection of the writer's suffering from exhaustive labor, in consequence of the want of this facility in many of the works of former writers. In these works the cost of production had been more considered than the advantage offered the reader for obtaining a knowledge of the contents.

The reader will find in the last two chapters of the work a synopsis of the political situation and the future outlook for Ireland, as well as the reasons upon which these deductions are based.

Since the work was placed in the hands of the printer, near the close of the last Parliamentary session, unexpected action was taken by the English Government, in allowing the passage of three bills for the benefit of the Irish people.

The Old Age Pension Bill was a measure introduced for the relief of the aged of Great Britain, but through the vigilance of the National members it was amended and made equally applicable to Ireland. The iniquitous Poor House Laws of the English system were forced upon the Irish people against their will and protest. These laws were applicable enough in England, where the professional beggar was to be found in every community. With hereditary disinclination to labor, the Work House system was necessary in England to force the mendicant to do something towards his own support. But the professional beggar was formerly unknown in Ireland. The existing system has been a curse to the country, and the English authorities have persistently resisted every effort at change. No temporary relief is allowed by law. As soon as the bread-earner of a family in Ireland fails to obtain the support needed, as a rule through unavoidable causes, he and the family are forced to go to the Poor House. All family relations are broken up, the members separated, and they are by law permanently reduced to a state of vagrancy, with all the accompanying immorality and destitution from which death affords the only relief. The horrors of an Irish Poor House are unknown in any other country. While this recent law limits, to a parsimonious extent, the Irish in spending their own public money, it is a good beginning, and when once its administration is under Irish influence the former accursed system will be promptly abolished.

As a special concession, the Irish people have been permitted for several years past, by means of a Commission and through the action of the County Councils, to spend a certain amount of their own money for building in the country better tenements for the poor, in place of the wretched

hovels of the past, with provision made by which the tenant gradually becomes the owner in fee.

From one of the recent concessions, the Irish town authorities have received permission from the House of Commons to extend the system now employed in the country districts, and the bill has reached a stage in its progress before the House of Lords which will insure its final passage into a law. The purpose of this bill is to extend to the towns of Ireland the authority and power to regulate the condition of the tenements of the poor, and is not unlike in its scope our own tenement house system and its supervision.

But is it necessary to seek beyond such a system of special legislation during the past century for the true cause of Ireland's destitution?

Here the legislation of a foreign race is grudgingly granted by strangers ignorant of the wants of the Irish people, and it is done as a concession! It was through increased effort, indeed, on the part of the National members for Ireland that they gained so simple a necessity as this concession from the majority in the House of Commons. Moreover, its passage would have been defeated in the House of Lords on general principles, as an Irish measure, if that body had dared at this particular time to have followed its usual course.

The last measure gained was the passage of a University Bill for Ireland, after a struggle during the greater part of the past century, in opposition to a degree of religious bigotry never exhibited to the same extent against any measure in England or elsewhere. As was to be expected under such circumstances, the bill for establishing a National University for a Catholic country was so mutilated before its passage, in the determination that the institution should never come under Catholic influence, that it is devoid of every feature, in its present form, which could be of any practicable benefit to the majority of the Irish people. But its passage was a great advance, as the people have now in their possession, at least, the foundation upon which can be

erected in the future what is needed. Fortunately the delay will be lessened, as it is found that a majority of the Board of Directors are free from religious prejudice.

Future interference with the development of this university through English influence is not probable, as the consummation of Home Rule is too near, be the final action taken next year or after a longer period. Special legislation for Ireland in the British Parliament is also rapidly approaching its end, in so far that in the interval previous to abolishing the Union between England and Ireland the National members of Parliament must necessarily be consulted as to the special needs of their country, if the Government is sincere in the desire to conciliate Ireland.

This is not a chimerical statement, but a matured judgment, based upon the deductions of a student, and strengthened in the conviction as to their truth by the experience of a lifetime in Irish politics. As a result of the present existing unity among the Irish people, AND FROM NO OTHER CAUSE, many persons of influence in England, and particularly among those forming the Government, have at length fully realized the necessity for conciliating Ireland, and if this conviction has not yet gained sufficient strength to obtain tangible results, it is but a question of time before circumstances will force the issue. To those who have given the subject due thought, the conviction is equally strong that England cannot remain indefinitely a first-class power without casting aside every other consideration but that of expediency in her relations with Ireland. Many among the English are probably more convinced of the necessity for such action than the Irish themselves, in the conviction that nothing but their future management of their own interests by the Irish will finally conciliate and reconcile the majority of the people to remain subjects of the British Empire. Finally, if Ireland is to have Home Rule, the first step towards such a consummation must be in the abrogation of the Act of Union between the two countries. This would be necessary for the removal of the one obstruction to all

progress, as Home Rule for Ireland can have no existence so long as the terms of the Union are in force.

The writing of a preface, in this instance at least, has been the beginning of the end, since it has been utilized for giving the reader the latest information on Irish affairs. As this work was written to advance the cause of Home Rule for Ireland, by showing the necessity for the change to self-government, reference to the subject should be no more out of place in the preface than in any other portion of the work.

The National Convention of the United Irish League of America held its annual meeting in Boston, September 23, 1908, and over one thousand delegates, it was stated, were present. This assemblage was attended, as delegates from the League in Ireland, by Mr. John E. Redmond, Mr. Joseph Devlin, an Irish member of Parliament, who gained his seat from the Orangemen of West Belfast, and Mr. John Fitzgibbon, of Roscommon, one of the best-informed and best-known men of influence in connection with the National party.

The report of these gentlemen, as to the political outlook for Ireland's future success, fully substantiates the deductions expressed by the writer throughout this work. It may be claimed that they were even more positive as to the certainty of success, and gave no expression of doubt as to the possibility of failure, though this be a contingency ever present in Irish politics. This is the only danger, and one which, in its influence, would quickly change the present situation to one with as little tangibility as an *ignis fatuus*.

The efforts of the chronic fault-finder and of the persistent seeker for change of methods and leaders are always to be feared, from their influence in producing mistrust and dissension among the unthinking portion of the Irish people. This small minority of mischief-makers has been in evidence for hundreds of years, always when least needed, and their influence in Ireland has wrecked at the last moment many a hopeful undertaking which might have been successful.

The occurrence of such a calamity in Irish affairs would be but history repeating itself. It may, therefore, be held that the gaining of Home Rule for Ireland now rests with the Irish people themselves, as it has in fact done from the beginning of the struggle with England.

From the moment the British Government obtains any intimation showing that the present unity among the Irish people has become weakened, then, as in the past, a period of absolute neglect of all Irish interests will begin. Sooner or later, as an inevitable result, coercion will be resorted to for the purpose of *conciliation*, with all the horrors attending the degradation of the people and the consequences which may result from retaliation.

With the never-failing determination to gain ultimate success, the Irish leaders will again begin to repair damages, and, with the same promptness and perseverance as the occupants of a destroyed ant-hill, will always set to work to regain their loss. But this, for Ireland, would be the prospect of at least another period of fifty years to be passed with hope deferred, and with all the concomitant evil consequences which must necessarily attend the delay, before the country can be benefited by Home Rule.

The only justification the English Government can ever receive from the world at large for the treatment of Ireland in the past is based alone upon the want of unity and stability of purpose in political affairs among many of the Irish people themselves when in conflict with England. To the same extent this condition of unreliability is found in no other race.

Elsewhere is given the cause of these defects, for which the Irish people are not fully responsible, and it is claimed that there has been effected of late a remarkable change for the better, but the future only can show to what extent.

T. A. E.

IS SEARB AN FÍRINNE
"The Truth is Bitter"

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE writer, while President of the Irish National Federation of America, was called upon to deliver an address at the Cooper Union, in the city of New York, on the evening of February 1, 1897. This was intended to form one of a series of educational lectures to be given to the members of the different branches of the Federation in the city of New York. The subject assigned to the writer was: "England's Destruction of Ireland's Manufactures, Commerce and Population."

Much of the material used in this lecture, together with that presented in the paper on *Ireland's Past and Present* and recently published in *Donahue's Magazine*, Boston, Mass., was utilized by the author, together with a greater mass of new material, and all was embodied in the *Indictment of 1898*, to show "Why Ireland has never Prospered under English Rule."

When the work had been prepared for the press, early in 1898, the writer declined to entertain the proposal that it should be printed by a publisher with Irish sympathies, because the work would then have passed only into the hands of those already familiar with the subject. His earnest desire was to have it reach the American public and possibly, by the same means, the English people. Thus would the truth be disseminated for educational purposes and would to some extent reach those who are indifferent owing to profound ignorance of Irish affairs.

The manuscript was submitted to several prominent American publishers and, while the writer was courteously

treated, it was returned, with a single exception, without comment beyond the statement that the subject was not a desirable one. The exceptional comment was to the effect that "were the statements made in the work as authentic as those of the Bible, no publisher, with any thought to his future, would dare print such an array against England, when at that time the disposition of the people throughout the country was so friendly towards her." The Author accepted the statement as a compliment, since it seemed to indicate that his humble efforts had been successful.

Notwithstanding his disappointment in the failure to have the work published in 1898, when it would have been most apt, the delay was not without advantage. More time has thus been furnished in a busy life to elaborate and reconstruct the original manuscript to its present form, which must even now, however, still contain many defects and omissions where so much had to be condensed. In fact, my investigations have necessarily been extended over a greater period of time, the material has been more systematically arranged, and the result is essentially a new treatment of the subject.

Consequently, *The Indictment of 1898*, which had dealt rather in generalities, had outgrown its title and *Ireland under English Rule* was more appropriate.

While the scope of this Work covers in outline fully seven centuries and a half of Irish history and extends to the present time, it has not been my purpose to give a continuous historical narrative of events nor to detail the services of individuals, a task which would have proved a failure if attempted within so limited a space.

The historical sketch does not extend beyond the Union with England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, since this event was the culmination of Ireland's wrongs, but the commercial or financial results with their consequences are treated of nearly to the present time.

The so-called Rebellion of 1803 and the different disturbances at later periods within the Nineteenth century natur-

ally followed the "Union" and any attempt to trace events in detail from a political standpoint would necessarily have involved much repetition without aiding the particular object of this work. The troubles of 1803 have been treated of by the writer somewhat in detail elsewhere,¹ and the material published, with the addition of some new historical facts which were in close connection with the events of the last century. As the history of the past fifty years has been often given in numerous personal narratives by those who were participants, it is within the reach of all who wish to study the subject.

The object of the writer has been to trace certain causes and effects and to show, what is self-evident in the abstract, that no result can be produced without an adequate cause. As the chief proposition it will be shown that Ireland has only prospered under English rule for a brief interval—when at least Irishmen managed Irish affairs, although these were conducted by a minority, with the added disadvantage that fully eight tenths of the population of Ireland at that time were disfranchised on a religious test. The logical deduction then presents itself that Ireland has never prospered because of misrule on the part of the English Government.

This will be proved to have been the case, as well as that Irish affairs were conducted by England for centuries in accordance with a settled and fixed purpose that Ireland should not prosper. As part of the indictment against England, it will be shown that only within a recent period has the effort been abandoned, whenever an opportunity presented, to exterminate by the sword the Catholic portion of the population; since that time, the same policy has been indirectly but as successfully followed in depopulating the country by famine and forced emigration.² Only the more

¹ *The Emmet Family, with some Incidents Relating to Irish History*, etc. Privately printed, New York, 1898.

² Mathew Carey quotes from Maurice and Berghetta: "When we see a suffering people, with depressed minds and indolent habits, we do not (as we ought to do) ascribe their poverty to the men who govern them. But no one who sees a mangy flock of sheep, ever doubts that it is the fault of the farmer

prominent instances will be cited in proof, but even these form a pandemonium of horrors more brutal in detail than could be gleaned from the deeds of any other civilized nation. The Irish were by no means free from a charge of cruelty in their efforts at retaliation but, if any justification can be offered, when the truth becomes known they will be judged by future generations as blameless, in view of the grievous and countless provocations from which they suffered during so many years.

With the English people as individuals the writer has no issue, as the greater portion of a long life has been passed in close and pleasant social relations with them. Nor can he lay claim himself to any better stock than that of the mixed English race, which came down to him in an unbroken line on his mother's side from the days of King Stephen. From his father he has no Irish blood direct but is descended from a family originally settled in the central portion of England, of which members served in the armies of Charles and Cromwell and afterwards intermarried with the descendants of the earlier English settlers in the west of Ireland, where in time they became also "Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores."

The indictment which the writer will attempt to draw will be against that unique political organization known as the British Government—a system well fitted for the oppression of the whole human race, with the exception of the English people themselves; with a settled policy, since the Norman conquest, which has remained unchanged in the quest of gain and new territory.

Yet England possesses a government which is almost perfect in its administration for the freedom, prosperity and happiness of her own people; and her promptness in giving, under all circumstances, the fullest protection abroad to the humblest of her race is most praiseworthy. But she is generally mistrusted by other people for her consummate selfishness to whom it belongs."—*Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, etc., third edition, Philadelphia and London, 1839, p. 423.

ness and brutality in dealing with a weaker Power; and she is honestly despised by the many in consequence of her treatment of Ireland.

A full statement of England's policy in Ireland will be given; this policy will be traced from an early period to the so-called Irish Rebellion in 1798, when the consummation was reached in the great crime committed against Ireland, in forcing, by bribery and corruption, "The Union," to which the Irish people were not a party. *The Indictment of 1898*, as originally prepared, consists in showing the condition of Ireland, one century later.

Where a special authority has been cited, the selection has been made whenever it was possible from some writer with English sympathies and preference given to the contemporary observer. As the writer could have no personal knowledge of the subject, the work must necessarily be a compilation; therefore all quotations given are in full, to express the author's views in his own words rather than by a freely worded paraphrase, as is usually done. By following this plan the reader is enabled to judge for himself, which could not otherwise be readily done as many of the works which have been quoted are now out of print and but few of them are likely to be found outside of a special collection in some private library.

Through the influence of English-created public opinion many thoughtless people regard "the low Irish" as being to a great extent responsible for the chronic state of want and misery from which they have so long suffered.

To remove this spirit of prejudice, religious or otherwise, against the Irish people, and which so generally exists as an English inheritance, material will be furnished to show that the Irish are a law-abiding race, more temperate as a people than either the English or Scotch; that their morals will compare favorably with those of any other race; that they are not from choice a lazy nor a shiftless people, that even under adverse circumstances which would have discouraged others they have prospered wherever it was possible to do

so; and that the individual's religious belief exercised no special influence, as the Catholic was as prosperous in Ulster or elsewhere, when able to avail himself of the same advantages possessed by his Protestant brother.

The one great purpose the writer has had in view throughout was to do justice to the Irish people as a whole. He would gladly have laid aside entirely all religious appellations, if it had been possible to do so, but unfortunately the prejudice of centuries, excited by the acts of the English Government, has created the impression with many that only the "Papist" is the real Irishman, and unless a Presbyterian or a "Scotch-Irishman" be shown as the chief actor, no circumstance of Irish history was worthy of thought. The fact is indeed a difficult one to realize that not a few persons regard the "Protestant Irishman," the "Presbyterian Irishman" and the "Catholic Irishman" as so many distinct species of the human race.

There remains in Ireland, outside of the Islands and on the West Coast, but little of the old Celtic race, for the Irish people have now become as much of an aggregation as the population of the United States is an agglutination of other races.

Yet there is something in the Irish climate and surroundings which, even within a generation, exercises a powerful influence in bringing the descendants of all foreigners to a type possessing much in common and with characteristics unlike any other people. The writer in his researches found much to admire among all classes and he has been able to do so without reference to the religious belief of the individual. With a more intimate knowledge his love and admiration became the greater for the whole Irish people, who constitute a wonderful and remarkable race.

The only stumbling-block met with has been the Orangeman, who has allowed neither climate, Christian charity nor any other influence to change his nature. But even the Orangeman could be made a passably good Irishman if he could be brought to realize that the "Protestant Ascend-

ancy," as he understands it, can never, through the mercy of God, exist again in Ireland; that it has even ceased to be an issue in the country since the disestablishment of the English State Church in Ireland; and that public opinion, of the majority of all in every Christian country, is to-day opposed to any religious ascendancy, as he would have it. Let him realize that he is not entitled longer to special rights and that from his standpoint he cannot raise an issue on premises which have been dead and untenable for over one hundred years. The Orangeman of to-day is generally a man of education, position and wealth and, if he could forget his imaginary grievances and direct his time, talents and means to the gaining of peace and prosperity for his country, by which all would be equally benefited, even his past record might in time be forgotten by a people who are naturally forgiving.

The reader seeking to obtain the truth is not to judge hastily that the Work is written in a partisan spirit but is asked to lay aside all prejudice and finally base a judgment on the evidence presented, which is by no means exhaustive. No praise will be found for England's course in Ireland, from the fact that in truth nothing can be stated to her credit. No instance can be cited showing that England's purpose had ever been an unselfish one in seeking by any measure to benefit the Irish people as a whole; and the recital of her failures has been as cheerless as the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

Most difficult and dreary has been my task, undertaken in the desire to state truthfully the condition of affairs in Ireland. The voidless waste of the past could be accepted by the investigator with more hopefulness for the future, if an indication could be found showing that England had gained in Ireland any practical knowledge by experience or could appreciate the efficacy of conciliation.

English statesmen seem to lose all astuteness, while in charge of the government, by their seeming inability to recognize the inevitable in time to adapt themselves to

circumstances. In the government of Ireland they seem stupidly conservative and opposed to all change, unless England alone is to be benefited.

The settled policy for governing the country is to keep the people in a constant state of exasperation. The spirit of conciliation is unknown to the English official in Ireland. The excessive number of troops and constabulary force in the country are chiefly employed to create disorder, to furnish testimony when necessary by perjury and for packing the jury box. Justice in Ireland is unknown wherever political bias and religious bigotry on the part of the official can be associated with its administration. Those who hold office at the pleasure of the Government have no more efficient means for exhibiting their loyalty. Nothing is more certain than the occurrence of a forced outbreak in Ireland whenever the Government wishes to divert the attention of the English people or to provide for the maintenance of troops returning after the close of some war; and the necessity for their presence in Ireland is created that the Irish people may be taxed for their support. Every other nation acts from self-interest and from motives of policy but England in her government of Ireland has but one resource—that of coercion.

After years of delay in finding a publisher, and at the time this Work was about to be printed, England suddenly changed her policy of coercion, which it was foreseen she would inflict upon the Irish people after the war with the Boers, and introduced into Parliament a land bill which it is claimed will restore prosperity to the country and will unite the Irish people as a contented and loyal portion of the British Empire.

Under these circumstances, the question was presented as to the existing need or propriety for publishing this Work. With an intimate knowledge of the relations which have existed for centuries between England and Ireland, the writer

could not believe that the time for the millennium had been reached, as a consequence of the only liberal effort England has ever made to advance the interest of the whole Irish people. The necessity for her own preservation which forced England to advocate the measure will not now be considered. The uncertainty as to what extent the bill may be amended in Parliament so as to materially lessen its benefit to the Irish people prevents any judgment, for England has never yet undertaken to grant any apparent concession to Ireland without interpolating somewhere a saving clause which in application lessened the full benefit expected. Moreover, England has never hesitated, in dealing with a weaker Power, to violate any pledge when it was to her advantage and she had recuperated sufficiently to enforce her will. The knowledge of this fact is not calculated to excite a belief that the hatred and selfish prejudice which has existed so long can be so suddenly obliterated. Thanks should be given to God for any benefit to Ireland and, in the absence of enthusiasm as to England's sincerity, the Irish people must accept little by little until England has been forced to make restitution in full. Even were Ireland on the eve of the greatest degree of prosperity due to England's fullest appreciation of her past treatment, and were the latter actuated by the sincerest desire to make the fullest atonement, the history of Ireland's suffering should not be suppressed.

In consequence of England's penal laws and her policy in the management of the national schools, the Irish people and their descendants in this country are most ignorant of the extent, beyond all other people, to which they have cause to be proud of the past history of their country. With the effort now being made throughout the world, wherever the Irish people have been scattered, to rekindle the national spirit by reviving a knowledge of the Irish as a spoken language, and with the study of Ireland's grand history and traditions which must follow, the necessity becomes all the greater that even the most humble effort to teach should be accepted, for its worth as a contribution

towards advancing the reviving interest in Irish matters. A movement which must accomplish so much towards educating the people of Irish blood to respect themselves the more from the fact of their Irish origin, and a knowledge of the truth as to what does justly exist to the credit of the Irish race, will eventually command the respect of all nations.

The diary of Thos. Addis Emmet, to be found in the Appendix, is an important historical contribution towards elucidating a period of Irish history which has been obscure. It was written after Mr. Emmet's release from prison, when he resided in Paris as the secret agent of the republican movement in Ireland, which was sustained by some of the leaders who had escaped identification with the outbreak in 1798. This diary was first printed in 1898 in a Work¹ issued in so limited an edition that it may be truthfully stated it is now placed within reach of the public for the first time.

¹ *The Emmet Family, etc.*

"Seven centuries of rapine and violence—Carelessness alternating with ferocity—Not a gleam of humanity, nor political—Not even the wisdom of the peasant who takes care of his beast lest it perish."

*John M. Robinson, M. P.,
[The Saxon and the Celt]*

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"Happiest is he who judges and knows books and nature and men [himself included] spontaneous and from early training—whose feelings are assessors with his intellect and who is thoroughly in earnest."

Thomas Davis

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“At what period [in Ireland] regular annals first began to be compiled with regard to minute chronology we have no means of determining ; but we may safely infer from the words of Tighernach, that ancient historical documents existing in his time were all regarded by him as uncertain before the period of Gimbaeth, the commencement of whose reign he fixed as the year before Christ 305. His significant words—*omnia monumenta Scotorum [Ireland] usque Gimbaeth incerta erant*, inspire respect for those facts he has transmitted to us, even when they relate to the period antecedent to the Christian era.”

Dr. O'Donovan—Introduction to his translation of the “Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland.”

"Her virtues her own—her vices have been forced upon her."

Robert Holmes

IRELAND UNDER ENGLISH RULE

INTRODUCTION

DURING the past four centuries Ireland has been in a chronic state of unrest and, previous to the late movement to gain by constitutional measures Home Rule for the country, scarcely ten consecutive years passed without a protest on the part of the people in the guise of some outbreak or disturbance.

In the study of Irish history, since the first invasion during the reign of Henry the Second to the present time, the single bare fact presents itself throughout—that Ireland has never prospered under English rule. It is made equally apparent that England, from the beginning and under all circumstances, has been consistent in her determined purpose that Ireland should *not* prosper and that the labor of the people and the resources of the country should be utilized only so far as both could be used to the profit of the English people themselves.

It is essential that the reader should understand the relations which have existed between Ireland and England, so that a knowledge of the facts may furnish a vindication for the political course which countless numbers of Irishmen have pursued in their efforts to free their native country.

Hundreds of thousands of the best men of Ireland have, in successive generations, either been driven into exile, fallen on the battle-field, suffered imprisonment until both

body and mind had become shattered or sacrificed their lives "after due process of law"—and all this for the principle of self-government. In the struggle to gain control of the land and its form of government no sacrifice was considered too great, for Ireland is the only country in the world where the people have been deprived of both these rights.

After a conflict of seven hundred years, the Irish people have been victorious, and within the first decade of the present century they are gradually regaining possession of the land through forced British legislative action. By continuing the struggle they must eventually succeed in gaining control, and of being able to shape their form of government to meet their needs, but when this can be fully accomplished, is yet hidden in the uncertainty of the future.

We may assume that the average reader is ignorant of Irish history, as English writers in relation to Irish affairs have systematically misstated and perverted facts, even to the most insignificant circumstance.

The Rev. Geoffrey Keating, D.D., a learned Catholic divine, wrote in the sixteenth century a standard history of Ireland in his native language; the work was translated from the Irish in 1732 and since that time there have been different editions printed in English. Dr. Keating in his Preface states:

"Having undertaken to deduce the history of Ireland from the most distant ages, I think myself obliged to remove beforehand, those false and injurious representations which have been published concerning the ancient Irish, who for above three thousand years have inhabited this kingdom, as well as what relates to the old English who have settled here ever since the reign of King Henry the second.

"The English historians, who have since that time wrote about the affairs of Ireland, have industriously sought occasion to lessen the reputation of both . . . Who when they write of Ireland, seem to imitate the beetle, which, when enlivened by the influence

of the summer heats, flies abroad, and passes over the delightful fields, neglectful of the sweet blossoms of fragrant flowers that are in its way, till at last, directed by its sordid inclination, it settles upon some nauseous excrement. Thus the above mentioned authors proceed when they write of this kingdom; what was worthy or commendable in the Irish nobility and gentry, they pass over. They take no notice of their piety, learning and courage, or their charitable disposition to build churches and religious houses, or of the great privileges and endowments they conferred and settled upon them: they omit to speak of the protection and encouragement they give to their historians and to other men of learning, to whom their liberality was so abounding, that they not only relieved the indigency of those who made their applications to them, but made public invitations to find an opportunity to bestow gratifications upon persons of merit and desert. They forget to mention their virtues and commendable actions; but, in their accounts of this kingdom, these authors dwell upon the manners of the lower and baser sort of people, relate idle and fabulous stories, invented on purpose to amuse the vulgar and ignorant, and pass over all that might be said with justice, to the honour of the nobility and gentry of the nation.

“ Never was any nation under Heaven so traduced by malice and ignorance as the ancient Irish.

“ The English writers particularly, have never failed to exert their malice against the Irish, and represent them as a base and servile people.

“ This introduction would be too tedious and prolix, should I particularly reflect upon all the malicious and ignorant falsehoods related by English writers, in what they call their histories of Ireland; for most of them are so monstrous and incredible, that they carry with them their own confutation.

“ I have observed that every modern historian, who has undertaken to write of Ireland, commends the country but despises the people; which so far raised my resentment and indignation that I set out in this untrodden path and resolved to vindicate so brave a people from such scandalous abuses; by searching into original records and from thence compiling a true and impartial history. It grieves me to see a nation hunted down by ignorance and malice, and recorded as the scum and refuse of mankind, when

upon strict inquiry they have as good a figure and have signalised themselves in as commendable a manner to posterity as any people in Europe.”¹

This charge against English writers was written during Queen Elizabeth’s reign.

In 1804 Plowden, the English historian, wrote²:

“The ill-judged policy of misrepresenting the Irish history, for partial or corrupt purposes, began almost as early as our connection with that country; and, it is to be lamented, that it has been kept up almost uniformly to the present day.”

Another writer states³:

“The people of England are a good honest, sincere and just people; at the same time they have been, and are, highly prejudiced against our country by their rulers, who have ever been, and are, the very reverse of the people. The world, moreover, ever has been and is in the like state of prejudice and darkness, whereby it happens that the true history of no country in the civilized—no that term will not apply, we have been barbarized by our calumniators;—no country under regular government—no, no, that epithet is still more faulty, unless regularity in misgoverning be the term adopted;—well, of no country long known to the learned, whose ports have been long time visited, is so imperfectly known as that of Ireland, in whose recorded annals

¹ *Keating’s General History of Ireland, translated from the Original Irish, etc.*, by Dermod O’Connor, Esq., Dublin, 1857.

² *An Historical View of the State of Ireland, etc.*, by Francis Plowden, Esq., Philadelphia, 1805, vol. i., p. 5, note. In *Grattan’s Life*, by his son, vol. v., p. 235, is given a letter written by Lord Fitzwilliam to Plowden the historian, dated Sept. 26, 1803, containing the following criticism: “This work has brought before the public this truth, little known and little thought of, that the Irish nation has consisted of two distinct and separate people, the English and the native Irish, the conqueror and the conquered; and this distinction has been systematically and industriously kept up, *not by the animosity of the conquered, but by the policy of the conqueror.*”

³ *Letters to His Majesty, King George the Fourth*, by Captain Rock, etc., London, 1828, p. 5.

little else is to be found than falsehood, vulgar errors and a catalogue of crimes, at the recital of which the nature of man shudders and recoils;—crimes which have been for the most part the work of those very rulers of England, whose hired writers have constantly laid them at the door of the Irish people, *against whom* they have been committed.

“ I believe Ireland is the only country under Heaven of which men presume to write without a particle of knowledge of its language, laws, manners, customs, or annals; recommending their works solely by their eulogies of England and sovereign contempt for, and illiberal, unqualified abuse of the Irish people and nation.”¹

It is a well-known fact that the circulation of works in Ireland written in Irish interests has been suppressed by persecution of the author, or seizure, and generally such works were burned by the hangman. Moreover, the English Government has never been backward in having a suitable version published from time to time for the outside world, and has generally managed by some bribe, of title or position, to have it done as though on the authority of some private individual.

The House of Commons did at an early date render it inadvisable to circulate too truthful an account of Irish affairs and the impression thus produced has certainly been a lasting one. It has on several occasions ordered the printer to be imprisoned without trial, the printed account to be burned by the public hangman and that the Stationer's Company should gather together the copies which had been distributed and have them all burned.

No writer has attempted to trace the persistent efforts made by the English Government in the past to keep her own people in ignorance of Irish affairs. That the Irish people should be kept in ignorance as far as possible and that the children in the national schools should not be taught the simplest fact in relation to the history of their own country may be good policy from the English standpoint. But to falsify Irish history and suppress the truth to the

¹ Rock, note, p. 56.

extent done through the influence of the English Government can never be justified.

Different writers refer to this subject but a single quotation will be sufficient. Mr. Fox states¹:

“The eminent author of *Commercial Restraints*, who was principal Secretary of State and Provost of Trinity College in Ireland, 1779; in a footnote we find the following: ‘This work by Mr. Hely Hutchinson, like kindred efforts of Swift and Molyneux, was suppressed, and burnt by the common hangman at the instance of the English Government; just as Irish newspapers are, even to this day, suppressed when they become too troublesome to Dublin Castle, which it is apprehended must fall like the walls of Jericho before “The great shout of the whole people.” It is indeed a melancholy reflection that the work of Molyneux was burnt by order of William Third’s Whig Parliament, for daring to extend to unfortunate Ireland those principles on which the English Revolution itself was professedly founded. As late as 1807, when Peter Plymley’s letter advocating further relaxation of the laws affecting Catholics first appeared in print, the Government of that day took great pains to find out the author; all they could find was, that the letters were brought to Mr. Budd, the publisher (in secret probably), by the Earl of Lauderdale. “Some how, or another, it came to be conjectured that I was the author,” writes Sydney Smith, thirty years afterwards; “I have always denied it. &c.”—meaning he found it highly expedient to disclaim the authorship at the time least he should be subjected to persecution in his own person.’ ” (*Works*, Preface, p. vii.)²

The English Press has shown this unjust spirit even down to our own time, by systematically misrepresenting every trivial illegal occurrence in Ireland so that what in England

¹ *Why Ireland Wants Home Rule*, etc., by J. A. Fox, London, sixth edition (1887 ?), p. 116. A work containing more practical information on Irish affairs for the number of pages (186) than any other. A number of publishers in this country have been urged to reprint it but unsuccessfully.

² In a subsequent note we will show how Francis Plowden, having been employed by Pitt, the younger, to write a history of Ireland, was persecuted, driven into exile, and finally died from want in Paris, in consequence of his honesty and failure to render a satisfactory version in support of the English Government.

or elsewhere would be considered as unworthy of mention, if it be an occurrence in Ireland, is exaggerated to the utmost importance. The object is to hide from the world the continual provocation to disorder existing in the English method of governing Ireland and also to spread the impression abroad that the Irish people are a lawless race; while in truth they are to-day and have been, as a whole, from the earliest record a law-abiding people.

Sir John Davis, the poet and Attorney-General for Ireland in the time of James the First, noted for his zeal as a prosecuting officer and for his hatred of the Irish race, placed on record, probably in some moment of repentance for his previous injustice, the following¹:

“ I dare affirm, that for the space of five Years last past, there have not been found so many Malefactors, worthy of Death, in all the six Circuits of this realm (Ireland), which is now divided into Thirty-two Shires at large, as in one Circuit of six Shires; namely the Western Circuit of England. For the truth is that in time of Peace the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any other nation whatever. . . . For there is no nation or people under the Sun that doth love equal and indifferent Justice better than the Irish; or will rest better satisfied with the Execution thereof, although it be against themselves; so as they may have the Protection and Benefit of the Law, when upon just cause they do desire it.”

Five times within the past seven or eight years the writer has noticed, in the Irish newspapers from the south and west of Ireland which have passed under his limited observation, the circumstance that no criminal case had been placed on the docket in the preceding three months even where the jurisdiction of the judge had covered a large circuit of country. On each occasion the judge had been presented with a pair of white gloves by the sheriff, to indicate the circumstance; certainly this occurrence was not infrequent, as the

¹ *Historical Relations ; or, a Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued*, etc., Dublin edition, 1733, pp. 116 and 123.

custom is evidently an established one.¹ Had a similar instance ever occurred within the same extent of territory in England, it is incredible that the world at large would have been kept in ignorance of the fact.

Newenham gives us some information bearing upon the claim that comparatively less crime existed in the Catholic portions of Ireland. He states as follows²:

“It will be seen by a very accurate return in the Appendix marked 30, of the persons sentenced to be hanged or transported, in the County of Cork, containing nearly a half a million of Roman Catholics, that, exclusive of the year of the rebellion, there were only one hundred and six sentenced to be hanged, and one hundred and sixty-nine transported in forty years, ending with 1807; of which number, by the way, a certain portion were probably Protestants; and of these there does not appear to have been a single individual hanged or transported for infanticide, sodomy, or bestiality; while in England in one year, viz., 1805, there were twenty-seven females committed for the murder of their infants, and fifteen men for sodomy and bestiality. The populous City of Cork, in which the Roman Catholics are to the Protestants as about seven to two, is freer from criminals of every kind than perhaps any city of equal magnitude in the world. It has not, and needs not a regular police. Several assizes have passed without a single capital conviction. Waterford, where the Roman Catholics are more numerous, is remarkable for supplying *the judges with gold fringed gloves.*”

In proof of the claimed superior efficiency of British penal methods the fact has been cited by the Press for illustration

¹ See Appendix, note 1, in the First Edition.

² *A View of the Natural, Political and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland.* By Thomas Newenham, Esqr., etc., London, 1809, p. 197. We will have frequently to refer to this work, as the author was a man of close observation with an extensive knowledge of Irish history and of Ireland's resources. He was a member of the Established Church and uncompromising in his loyalty to the British Government. He was a native of Cork, Ireland, was an advocate of the Union with England; but a few years after, when this work was written, he had already realized that England was alone to be benefited. The work is particularly free from all religious prejudice and political bias, while his views are expressed with the justness of a judicial training.

that in Ireland there were 1631 convictions in 1861 and only 292 in 1891, and the decrease was attributed to the severe justice of British punitive measures. The truth as to cause and effect is indeed doubtful. Juries are still too frequently packed and false swearing is yet too frequently employed in Ireland by the administrators of English injustice, as we will show hereafter, to prove more than that there should have been a better record for the Irish people in 1891. There was doubtless some special provocation in 1861 offered by the "guardians of the Peace" to increase the numbers and for some special purpose now forgotten. But Ireland continues far to outdistance all other European countries in crimelessness. Official statistics for the year 1900 recently published show a decrease of 10.2 per cent. in indictable offences and 18.2 per cent. in minor offences, as compared with the preceding year.¹

John Bright, showing his appreciation of the Irish people, made the following statements in Parliament²:

"An honourable member from Ireland, referring to the character of the Irish people says, 'There is no Christian nation with which we are acquainted, amongst whose people crime of the ordinary character (as we reckon it) is so rare as amongst the Irish.' He might have said also, that there is no people, whatever they may be at home, more industrious than the Irish in every country but their own. He might have said more, that they are a people of a cheerful and joyous temperament, that they are singularly grateful for a kindness and that of all people of our race, they are filled with the strongest sentiments of veneration. And yet, with such material and such people, of the centuries of government, after sixty-five years of government by this House, (since the Union) you have them embittered against your rule and anxious to throw off the authority of the Crown and Queen of this realm. This is merely an access of the complaint Ireland has been suffering under during the lifetime of the oldest man in this House, that of Chronic insurrection."

¹ See Appendix, note 1, First Edition,

² Bright's *Speeches*, vol. i., p. 351.

The English people at large have certainly been kept in a state of profound ignorance of the Irish people and of their suffering, and this condition has existed from the beginning of the English rule to the present day. It would seem as if it had ever been held an evidence of loyalty to the Government on the part of the Press throughout Great Britain to misrepresent the Irish people and their wrongs.¹ The disreputable course of the London *Times* in fostering a forgery to the injury of the late Charles Stewart Parnell and his associates, and the developments in the subsequent suit for libel brought by him, may be cited on the one hand and the course of the editor who dares not print the truth, through fear of the consequences, may be taken as the other extreme. Consequently, from the natural prejudice and hatred of the many, the views of those who dare give the truth have never reached those who have most needed a knowledge of it. The Press and the writers of so-called history, written in the English interests, have thus kept the people at large in ignorance of Irish affairs and there has been no means of enlightening them, unless an individual has been within reach of tradition or has had access to the writings of those who lived beyond the power of the British Government.

For the past six hundred years the Irish people have been treated by the English as an inferior, despised and conquered race. The two peoples have never had anything in common nor have they ever understood each other. The English have not realized the fact that they have never conquered Ireland, by breaking the spirit of the Irish people, and can never do so; they have simply held the country in subjection—a condition only to be maintained by force or by conciliatory measures. Ireland cannot be conciliated nor intimidated by brute force. The exercise of this power is as fruitless an expectation as would be the destruction of Ireland's rocky cliffs by the never-ceasing pounding of the sea, and the action of both these forces has been tested by the lapse of centuries.

¹ See Appendix, note 2, First Edition.

No Englishman—even Mr. Gladstone himself—has ever shown that he was able to understand the Irish people or their needs and, whenever an attempt has been made to render tardy justice, it has failed from this cause. The result has been that a great mass of the English people, in their ignorance, have reached the conclusion that nothing can be done to conciliate Ireland, that coercion is the only remedy; and they have spread abroad among a large portion of the English-speaking world the same conviction.

Edmund Spenser, the poet, as Secretary to Lord Grey, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, wrote in 1596¹ his *View of the State of Ireland* in a work which shows him to have been a thinking man and a close observer. It is written as a dialogue between “Endoxus” and “Irenæus,” and the latter at the beginning answers the first question as follows:

“Marry so there have bin divers good plottes devised and wise counsels cast already about the reformation of that realme, but they say, it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good will prosper or take effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soyle or influence of the starres, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that hee reserveth her in this unquiet state still *for some secret scourge which shall by her come unto England*, it is hard to be knowne, *but yet much to be feared.*”

Three hundred years have not changed the situation, as England has continued to be as indifferent to the prosperity and needs of the Irish people as she was previous to the time of Spenser. Misrule, and its consequences in the present condition of Ireland, is to-day no less a menace as a “scourge” to England. Stranger things have happened in the past than the overthrow of the British Empire would prove in some revolutionary movement in Europe, which may arise from the slightest provocation; and Ireland may yet be the Nemesis in England’s future.

¹ *A View of the State of Ireland*, etc. Reprinted by the Hibernia Press, Dublin, 1809.

But the Irish people have been patient and long-suffering. The condition of affairs which the writer will hereafter treat of at some length is one well known to the student of Irish history. It is one that has continued to repeat itself in Ireland for hundreds of years, always existing, as the Pitts and the Castlereaghs of successive generations gained control of Irish affairs. The record of those representing the British Government and of the present Tory party in particular, or of all who have held like views under some other cognomen, has been from the beginning of English rule in Ireland an unbroken one of corruption and bribery. The infamous laws and plots of these enemies to Ireland's prosperity have been carried out by brute force and have been frequently associated with a degree of cruelty and violence which would have excited the envy of Nero.

Moreover, under these laws some nine-tenths of the population of Ireland have been oppressed, in consequence of the religious discrimination made for the advantage of the favored few.

It is an exception to the rule to find an Englishman in authority at home, above the lowest walks of life, showing the brutal instincts which he has so commonly exhibited as an official in Ireland and which he seems so well able also to excite in those who become identified with him there. Yet it requires little observation to realize that under healthy and good influence human nature is kindly and very much the same the world over.

Therefore, it is but charitable to take exception more to the system in Ireland, which has become the settled policy of the Government and which produces a feeling of hatred and contempt, than to the English people in Ireland, who might as individuals be different under more friendly influences.

As the Irish people have for centuries been subjected to the greatest degree of uncertainty as to their future and have been constantly involved in the turmoil of war and confiscation of property, no one among them has been able to give to the world a true or full version of their sufferings. Fortunately, however, a true history can be readily written

on the evidence of their greatest enemies. Almost every prominent Englishman in the early days who has ever had any connection with Irish affairs, and who was particularly noted at least for hatred of the Irish people, has left behind him some personal narrative or official document wherein, by the boasting description of his exploits, he has placed on record the needed information. Such evidence, however, as a rule has been ignored by the English historian of Irish affairs or, if placed on record, it has been for some other purpose than that of justice and its true bearing has been disguised.

From every crime known to man Ireland has been a sufferer by the acts of the English Government officials or from the English troops holding the country and the Irish people have been victims, not in isolated instances but of continuous persecution extending through centuries.

The Irish people have offered up a host of martyrs, century after century, in resisting the invasion of different races of land-robbers and in later years for the preservation of their faith. The members of every Catholic family who have remained true to their traditions, with many who are not of that faith but who have an equal love of country, can all join in reiterating the sentiment common to their ancestry:

“ We hate the Saxon and the Dane,
We hate the Norman men—
We cursed their greed for blood and gain,
We curse them now again.”¹

Taaffe has thus written of the English²:

“ Their historians are gravely employed to publish historical lies against this country, not a paltry compilation can be pub-

¹ From the poem *Celts and Saxons*, by Tho. Davis, of *The Nation*.

² *An Impartial History of Ireland*, etc., by Dennis Taaffe, Dublin, 1811, vol. i., p. 527. The fifth volume of this work was never published. It has been generally stated that it was seized and suppressed by the Government. As the author was plain spoken and very familiar with the details of the subject, its destruction may have been a prudent measure from an English standpoint.

lished, under the title of Gazetteer, Geography, Magazine, but must mangle and disfigure the name and character of Ireland. But people are not to be credited to our disadvantage who demonstrate their abhorrence of truth and their enmity to historical monuments, in diligently robbing us of our records and manuscripts of every kind; as far as their utmost power and influence could reach, using their best endeavors to destroy all remembrance of past events, that they may be at liberty to publish their own malicious forgeries, without fear of detection. The monuments of Irish genius are scattered to the winds; the records and memorials of our fame dispersed or destroyed; the memory of the illustrious dead and the character of the living are equally insulted; we are stript bare, and then reproached with our poverty; we have been deprived of education and then reproached with our ignorance; our colleges, that abounded with learning and learned men, who enlightened Europe, our Seminaries of Physic, Poetry, Music &c. were suppressed, and their scientific labours destroyed or carried off, and we are insultingly told, that our ancestors were barbarians; we have been deprived of our manufacturies, and the means of employing and feeding our people and they are reproached with laziness.

“ Like a wreck drifted by the storm to a barbarous inhospitable shore, our spoils are become the prey of the robber and the thief.”

The whole record in relation to Irish affairs is what John Lawless described it to be (*A Compendium of the History of Ireland*, etc., Belfast, p. 392):

“ There is but little respite from exasperating oppression and unmerited cruelty. The eye wanders over a dreary scene of desolation without a single point on which it can rest, the heart of the philanthropist sinks under a hopeless despondency, and passively yields to the unchristian and impious reflection, that the poor people of Ireland are a devoted race, whom Providence has abandoned to the malignant ingenuity of an insatiable enemy.”

Isaac Butt tells us¹:

¹ *The Irish People and the Irish Land*, etc., by Isaac Butt, 1867, pp. 293-294.

“It is no loss to any Irishman”—nor to the reader we may add—“to be compelled to go slowly and minutely over the history of the past—even as a study in political or social science, there are few subjects better worth investigation than those connected with the condition of the Irish people for the last 200 years (1667–1867). Ireland in that period has but little history to those who know history only as the record of the events which affect Dynasties and Sovereigns and Governments. There is much for those who place the real value of history in the tracing of the things which make up the every-day life of a people. In this sense I know of no stranger or more instructive passage in the life of mankind than the story of Ireland, from the day when strange proprietors were set over her confiscated soil. Her story—not in camps, or courts, or senates—her story in her villages, her farms, her farm-houses and her hovels, in all the changes of her peasant life—in the relations between those who owned and those who occupied the soil—in the serfdom and misery, and the oppression of the old race—in the effects which all this produced upon her national industry and prosperity—upon the character and condition of all classes.

“When we can bring all this in one view before your mind we have a great historic picture, in the scenes of which we see something very different from the mere image of beggary and crime—we see vividly portrayed before us the working of all the elements and passions which create national happiness and misery—scenes which impress upon us the most striking illustration of political and economic laws. May I stop to say, that surely we may perceive in that view those higher moral lessons which history teaches us, that sometimes, at least in national affairs, oppression and wrong are blunders as well as crimes.

“Who has profited by the grievous oppression of the Irish people? What cause has prospered which that oppression was designed to secure? The old people were crushed down to protect the English interest, the Protestant interest and the new proprietors. Has the English interest been really upheld? If the most malignant and wily enemy of England had devised the policy, by which Ireland was to be reserved to be her ‘secret scourge’ in some future day, could his aim have been more effectually worked out than it has been by the result of the very system of

government which was justified by the plea that the interests of England must be upheld?"

Mr. Aubrey De Vere, an Irish landlord at the time of the great famine in that country, a member of the established Church as he states, a supporter of the English Government, a close observer, an alien in name but a true Irishman in the wish for the prosperity of his native country, arrays England's misrule in the following terms¹:

"I have been sometimes tempted to think that as the mythologists make mention of three Jupiters, so there must be at least two Englands. . . . The distinction to which I refer is not of classes or order . . . and, a sad and singular fact, the two have occasionally concurred in the same course, influenced by the most opposite motives, indeed, but by a common delusion. . . . For six centuries the bad England generally has kept vigil for Ireland, while for the rest of the world it generally slept. This fact is attested by the just award of European opinion, which reverses your history at large, but regards the Irish part of it with a sentiment of resentment, wonder and scorn.

"I do not presume to call our humble annals a history. History implies a succession of events dependent each on the preceding, a series of external actions capable of being referred to internal causes, an exposition of the mind and life of a nation by means of impulses flowing from within, and though confused, not seldom by jarring accidents, yet on the whole moulding outward circumstances to an image of itself, and methodizing them to something of an intelligible unity. Other nations, even the most miserable, have had a history; and may take refuge from the present in communion with the past: Ireland, thanks to the unprecedented character of British dominion, has none. She knows not whether she was conquered; she knows not whether she was colonized; she has heard of a present union; she had dreamed of a future peace; she is certain alone that she has no history.²

¹ *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds*, etc., London, 1848, pp. 3, 39, 44, 50, 100, 102, 105.

² Investigation of late years and since De Vere's work was published has proved that no other country did have a more extended history than Ireland

No classic historian has recorded it; no poet has ventured to select from it one well-known tragic theme; the philosopher has passed it by without wasting a theory on it, as he would have turned from the journals of a madhouse, the calendar of a convict colony, or the battles of wild beasts.

“Should you think it a just judgment if we were to form our notion of England at large by a generalization from the police reports?”

“The more the Irish are reviled by England, the more they will flatter themselves and be flattered at home; and it is for their interest that they should know themselves to be just what they are. I deem the detraction in which you indulge inexpedient, also, by reason of its effect on ourselves. I fear lest by this vile and vulgar habit of foul-mouthed abuse, which you have contracted, you may vitiate your own judgment to such an extent as to lose the power of distinguishing good from evil. There is great danger that you may end by believing us to be that which you have long called us. Bad words, at first but the expression of a peevish fancy, become insensibly the language of habitual passion, and at least the representatives of opinion. You cannot for sport see everything in a false light, and yet retain the power of seeing things at will with an unprejudiced eye; neither can you run mad about Ireland and yet remain in your senses on all other subjects. Your ear once formed, and expecting certain sounds, you will think every one who speaks of Ireland in a gentler tone a designing knave or a good-natured dupe. . . . A wise man wears his follies like his clothes, not like his skin, knowing that he must change them from time to time.

“The lawlessness of Ireland is about equal to the poverty which causes it. . . . Society in this country is a great Fact for which it is hard to account: under the same circumstances it would at once go to pieces in England. . . . There are in Ireland social traditions [these immemorial and undefined ‘moves’ without which laws are of no avail but to prolong decay] which have been to us a substitute for law; there are household affections which extend their peaceful influence far beyond the limit of the hearth; there is a reverence for antiquity before the English held the country and before the English wilfully destroyed Irish records.

and eminence, civil or ecclesiastical; there is a moral sense, profound though perverted; there is religion, abundant in quantity, whatever you may think of its quality. The consequence of these things is that there has been society. . . . Sympathy with crime is a depravity common neither in Ireland nor elsewhere. Sympathy for the criminal, rather than for the law, is an hereditary disease and national calamity, in itself, a grave offence; but the necessary result of the fact that, till a very recent period of English domination, law in Ireland was the friend neither of the people nor of justice, but the impartial persecutor of both. Why need it surprise you, sir, that the law of the land should present itself in a different aspect to your countrymen and to mine? The same instincts which cause the one to revere, causes the other to hate it. . . . Are then the wrongs of past times never to be forgotten in Ireland? Yes, when they are worthily remembered in England; but I fear not till then.

“You will not now ask me so pertinaciously why we are so poor. It is because you impoverished us, confiscating property over and over again, incapacitating the great mass of the people from acquiring or bequeathing it, proscribing industry, and fomenting mutual animosity and common insecurity. You will ask me why the people are reproached for sloth—it is because there was no object for their energy; why they procrastinate—it is because there is no difference between to-day and to-morrow when each is a blank; why they bully you—it is because you bullied them, and failed to make them just concessions except on compulsion; why they are deficient in truth—it is because truth is the language of freedom; why they are lawless—it is because for three centuries they knew nothing of our laws, and for three centuries they knew them too well; why they are reproached with levity—it is because they are not ennobled by the graver happiness that entails responsibility; why they do not love the memory of their masters—it is because they could not love it without hating all they are bound to love. I will not here charge you with what is erroneously called your original conquest of this island. Most nations rest on the foundation of a conquest (you, indeed, can boast a fourfold foundation); and if the lenient hand of time were not allowed to heal old wounds, and prescription to sanction possession, there would be neither peace nor progress in the world. But we have somewhat else

against you. For most precious and repeated opportunities vouchsafed and rejected, whereby the past might have become past indeed, or been changed into a blessing; for a weakness more fatal than your might, which consigned this people to the delegated tyranny of double betrayers whom you dare not coerce; for the outlawry of ages, and for laws which taught us to lament our best outlawry; for compacts broken and frauds displaced by frauds; for the ancient religion beaten to the earth amid its bleeding votaries and violated shrines; for a reformed religion gibbeted on high in ill-omened elevation, amid all that was disastrous and abhorred; for Christianity discountenanced and discredited on this side and on that; for all the highways of industry blocked up, and every road open to corruption in high places and rebellion in low; for agriculture discouraged and trade prohibited; for a common woe referred sedulously to the weal of either country; for secrecy rendered necessary and frankness made impossible; for virtues that could not be suppressed, distorted to uncomely shapes and directed to unworthy objects; for fidelity allied with treason, and reverence for law degraded into the virtue of the informer; for a present ever without peace, and a past whose every monument is a stone of offence; for history, which should be a nation's guide, condemned to become either a babbler of fables or an instructress in sedition; for society without arts, resources without use, obscurity without rest, talents without objects, energies without career, agonies without fame; for the streams of knowledge choked in their channels, and the springs of virtue poisoned at their source; for these and other demerits, our misfortune and yours, it remains that the Crown, the Parliament and the People of England should answer and at once to God and to Ireland."

Mr. Davitt writes¹: "As early as 1844 Disraeli had given perhaps the best exposition of the Anglo-Irish question ever spoken by an English statesman. On February 16th in that year, he said from his place in the House of Commons, 'I want to see a public man come forward and say what the Irish question is. One says it is a physical question; another a spiritual. Now it is the absence of the aristocracy; now the absence of railroads. It is

¹ *The Fall of feudalism in Ireland*, etc., by Michael Davitt, London and New York, 1904, p. 232.

the Pope one day and potatoes the next. A dense population in extreme distress inhabit an island where there is an established church which is not their church; and a territorial aristocracy, the richest of whom live in a distant capital. Thus they have a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, an alien church, and in addition the weakest executive in the world. . . . Well, what then would honourable gentlemen say if they were reading of a country in that position? They would say at once, "The remedy is revolution." But the Irish could not have a revolution, and why! Because Ireland is connected with another and more powerful country. Then what is the consequence? The connection with England becomes the cause of the present state of Ireland. If the connection with England prevents a revolution, and a revolution was the only remedy, England logically is in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery of Ireland. What, then, is the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force. That is the Irish question in its integrity.'

"The statesman who knew and felt all this to be true was twice in power after the horrible climax of alien and unsympathetic English rule in the great famine. . . . An attempt to rouse English racial and political hatred against Ireland for party purposes was his only contribution to the solution of the problem he has so sanely defined."

Disraeli's course was that usually in force. With the exception of Gladstone, no English minister ever made willingly an honest effort for the relief of Ireland. Every attempt to govern Ireland has been made from an English standpoint as if for the benefit of Englishmen only. Lord John Russell in 1840, during a debate in Parliament, was the first English statesman to give utterance to the following truism: "That it was not probably borne in mind that as England is inhabited by Englishmen, and Scotland by Scotchmen, so Ireland is inhabited by Irishmen."¹ Yet, after stumbling,

¹ The cause of Ireland has certainly made progress of late years. On Feb. 3, 1908, during a debate in the House of Lords, on the condition of Ireland, Lord Dudley, who was at the head of the Irish Government during the enforcement of the Coercion Act by the former administration stated, "I have been frequently taunted with having used the expression that Ireland should be gov-

as it were, on so self-evident a key to the condition which had proved for centuries an unsolved problem to every English official in his relation with Ireland, Russell never availed himself of his opportunity any more than Disraeli did. It was this epigrammatic utterance of Russell which first fixed Gladstone's attention upon the wrongs of Ireland, and he alone realized the possibility of effecting their mitigation. But before he had matured his plans in his desire to do justice to Ireland, the use of dynamite by the Fenians convinced him of the need of prompt action.¹

Morison wrote :² " Nothing is easier than to say that this disaffection is unreasonable, perverse and wicked. Persons against whom such complaints are made always consider disaffection perverse, from the Kaiser on his throne to the fish-wife skinning the eels and cursing them for not being quiet. The charge is that the position of the Irish tenantry has gradually become absolutely intolerable, that the people are leaving the country rather than endure it any longer, and that they carried away with them hearts swelling with the most savage animosity against the laws and the country which in their minds are the cause of their suffering."

In a reported speech, delivered by Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament, as early as 1885, he said :

erned according to Irish ideas. Nobody has been more astonished than myself at the extreme importance that has been attached to that phrase. In connection with the government of any country it would have been accepted as a platitude." In the same connection he claimed that he remained an unionist, but he did not place the union above everything. He considered unionism yet on trial. The only chance unionism had was to gain the support of public opinion behind the law and in favor of whatever the government policy might be. The difficulty which every government met with in Ireland was to gain that support which could only be secured by infinite patience, infinite tact and in the avoidance of checking every friendly feeling in the country. He therefore gave his full support to the government (Liberal) in its efforts to avoid a resort to coercion.

¹ Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. i., p. 465; and Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, vol. i., p. 130.

² *Irish Grievances Shortly Stated*, by James Cotter Morison, M.A., Oxon, p. 32. London, 1868.

“I do not believe that the great majority of Englishmen have the slightest conception of the system under which this free nation attempts to rule the sister-country. It is a system which is founded on the bayonets of 30,000 soldiers encamped permanently as in a hostile country. It is a system as completely centralized and bureaucratic as that with which Russia governs Poland, or as that which prevailed in Venice under Austrian rule. An Irishman at this moment cannot move a step—he cannot lift a finger in any parochial, municipal or educational work, without being confronted with, interfered with, controlled by an English official, appointed by a foreign government, and without a shade or shadow of representative authority. I say the time has come to reform altogether the absurd and irritating anachronism which is known as Dublin Castle.”¹

¹ While this work is being prepared for a new edition and over twenty-three years after the above cited speech was delivered, the Irish people are still being cajoled by hopes deferred. Dublin Castle is still supreme, apparently more powerful than the English Government, and Mr. Chamberlain has never acted on his claimed convictions.

"A people without a language of its own is only half a nation."

Thomas Davis

"A nation should guard its language more than its territories, it is a surer barrier and a more important frontier than fortress or river."

Thomas Davis

CHAPTER I

THE IRISH LANGUAGE, EARLY CIVILIZATION AND TRADITIONS—IRISH MISSIONARIES CHRISTIANIZE AND CIVILIZE EUROPE

BEFORE entering upon our subject—Ireland under English Rule—we should consider briefly the early history of her language, laws, literature and civilization, as the assertion is often made by English writers that Ireland was in a condition of semi-barbarism when Henry II. made his first attempt to seize the country. Fortunately the fact can be easily established that the Irish were a learned race long before the Roman civilization culminated and they maintained the same eminence for centuries and until the English had overrun the country. The invaders then closed all the centres of learning and destroyed as far as possible every vestige of Ireland's former civilization, that the people might be kept in a state of ignorance for centuries thereafter.

Ireland's decadence from the position which she had occupied for at least a thousand years was due directly to the destructive efforts of the semi-savage Normans who first successfully invaded the country in quest of land and plunder. The same destructive spirit and motive were maintained for centuries after by their descendants through fear of a people which could not be conquered, short of extermination, and in later years even extermination was attempted from religious bigotry.

O'Hart writes ¹:

"In Connellan's *Four Masters* we read—'The great affinity be-

¹ *Irish Pedigrees, or the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, John O'Hart, Dublin, 1892, vol. i., p. 9.

tween the Phœnician and Irish language and alphabet has been shown by various learned antiquaries—as Vallancey, Sir Laurence Parsons, Sir Wm. Betham, Villaneuva, and others; and they have likewise pointed out a similarity between the Irish language and that of the Carthaginians, who were a colony of the Tyrians and Phœnicians. The Phœnician alphabet was brought to Greece from Egypt by Cadmus. And Phœnix, brother of Cadmus the Phœnician who first introduced letters amongst the Greeks and Phœnicians, is considered by O'Flaverty, Charles O'Connor and others to be the same as the celebrated Phœnusa (or Feniusa) Farsaidh of the old historians, who state that he was King of Scythia and ancestor of the Milesians of Spain who came to Ireland; and that, being a man of great learning, he invented the Irish alphabet, which his Milesian posterity brought to Ireland; and it may be further observed that the Irish in their own language, were from Phœnusa or Feniusa, called Feine, a term latinized Phœnii, and signifying Phœnicians, as shown by Charles O'Connor and in O'Brien's Dictionary."

We also find in a note on the same page by O'Hart:

"It is to the Gaelic language that the following stanza, translated from a poem written in the third century by the Irish Monarch Carbre Liffechar, refers—

" ' Sweet tongue of our Druids and bards of poet ages ;
Sweet tongue of our Monarchs, our Saints and our Sages ;
Sweet tongue of our heroes and free-born Sires,
*When we cease to preserve thee our glory expires.' "*¹

The earliest Irish writers claimed the existence of authentic records of their own country's history to a most

¹ We may accept the last line of this stanza, written sixteen centuries ago, in the spirit of a prophecy, for truly Ireland's glory as a nation has waned since her language ceased to be in common use. The alarm has been sounded none too soon among the sons and daughters of Erin throughout the world, with the object of showing that all spirit of nationality must eventually be lost and in the near future, unless a knowledge of the Irish language be revived. Most gratifying is the progress already made towards accomplishing this purpose, particularly in having the Irish language brought into common use throughout Ireland among the 'National schools' where for many years its use had been forbidden.

remote period. So general was the destruction of all such records by the Normans that, until the results of recent investigations became known, it was impossible to disprove the statements made by the English writers that Ireland was uncivilized at the coming of Henry II. Dr. John O'Donovan, in his introductory remarks to his translation of the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, writes:

“The accuracy of ancient dates being thus apocryphal, we are driven to regard the catalogue of Kings, given by Gilla—Gaemain and others, as a mere attempt at reducing to chronological order the accumulated traditions of the Poets and Seanachies of Ireland. But that a list of Irish Monarchs was attempted to be made out at a very early period is now generally admitted by the best antiquaries. Mr. Pinkerton, who denies to the Irish the use of letters before their conversion to Christianity, still admits the antiquity of their list of Kings—‘Foreigners’ (he remarks) ‘may imagine that it is granting too much to the Irish to allow them lists of Kings more ancient than those of any other country in modern Europe; but the singularly compact and remote situation of that Island, and its freedom from Roman conquest and from the concussions of the fall of the Roman Empire, may infer this allowance not too much. But all contended for is the list of Kings, so easily preserved by the repetition of bards at high solemnities and some grand events of History.’ (*Inquiry into the History of Scotland, &c.* By John Pinkerton.)

“At what period regular annals first began to be compiled with regard to minute chronology we have no means of determining; but we may safely infer from the words of Tighernach, that the ancient historical documents existing in his time were all regarded by him as uncertain before the period of Gimbaeth, the commencement of whose reign he fixes to the year before Christ 305. His significant words, *Omnia monumenta Scottorum usque Gimbaeth incerta erant*, inspire a feeling of confidence in this compiler which commands respect for those facts he has transmitted to us, even when they relate to the period antecedent to the Christian Era. . . . The compiler frequently citing the names of the authors or compilers whose works

he had before him. . . . From these notices we have reason to believe that the ecclesiastical writers carried forward a continuous chronicle from age to age; each succeeding annalist transmitting the records which he found existing along with his own; thus giving to the whole series the force of contemporary evidence. The precision with which the compiler of the Annals of Ulster has transmitted the account of an eclipse of the sun, which took place in the year 664, affords a proof that his entry was derived from a contemporaneous record."

The following notices of eclipses and comets from A.D. 495 to A.D. 1065, copied from various works, show that they were recorded originally by eye-witnesses.

The special eclipse referred to above is thus described:

"A.D. 673. Nubes tenuis et tremula ad speciem celestis arcus iv vigilia noctis vi feria ante pasca ab oriente in occidentem per serenum celum apparuit. Luna in sanguinem versa est."

Dr. O'Donovan states in continuation of the subject:

"The dates assigned to these eclipses are confirmed by their accordance with the catalogue of eclipses in *L'Art De Ver. Les Dates*, Tom. 1, pp. 62-69; and from this accuracy it must be acknowledged that they have been obtained by actual observation and not from scientific calculations; for it is well known that any after calculations, made before the correction of the Dionysian Period, would not have given such correct results."

Thomas Moore has the following remarks upon the eclipse of 664¹:

"The precision with which the Irish annalists have recorded to the month, day, and hour, an eclipse of the sun, which took place in the year 664, affords both an instance of the exceeding accuracy with which they observed and noted passing events, and also an undeniable proof that the annals for that year, though long since lost, must have been in the hands of those who have transmitted to us that remarkable record. In calculating the period of the same

¹*History of Ireland*, etc., vol. i., p. 163.

eclipse the Venerable Bede, led astray, it is plain by his ignorance of that yet undetected error of the Dionysian Cycle, by which the equation of the motion of the sun and moon was affected,—exceeds the true event by several days. Whereas the Irish chronicler, wholly ignorant of the rules of astronomy, and merely recording what he had seen passing before his eyes,—namely, that the eclipse occurred about the tenth hour on the 3rd of May, in the year 664, has transmitted a date to posterity, of which succeeding astronomers have acknowledged the accuracy.”

O'Donovan in continuation writes:

“At what period it became the practice in Ireland to record public events in the shape of annals has not been yet accurately determined; but it will not be too much to assume that the practice began with the first introduction of Christianity into the country. Now, it is highly probable that there were Christian communities in Ireland long before the final establishment of Christianity by St. Patrick, in the Fifth century. We learn from St. Chrysostom, in his *Demonstratio Quod Christus sit Deus*, written in the year 387, that the British Islands, situated outside the Mediterranean Sea, and in the very Ocean itself, had felt the power of the Divine Word, churches having been founded there and altars erected.”

“But the most decided evidence that the Irish had the use of letters before St. Patrick's time, is derived from the account of Celestius, an Irishman, the favourite disciple of the Heresiarch Pelagius: St. Jerome, alluding to a criticism of Celestius upon his *Commentaries on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians*, thus launches out against this bold heretic, etc.” . . .

“This passage affords sufficient evidence to prove that the *Scotica gens*,” (Irish race) “in the neighbourhood of Britain, had the use of letters towards the close of the Fourth century; and it may be added, that a country that produced such able men as Celestius and Albinus could hardly have been an utter stranger to civilisation at the time they flourished. On the whole, it may be conjectured, with probability, that letters were known to the Irish about the reign of Cormac, son of Art; and this throws the boundary between what must have been traditional, and what may

have been original written records, so far back as to remove all objection on that ground to the authenticity of the following annals," (of the *Four Masters*) "from at least the Second century of the Christian era. The reader will find these conclusions supported by the opinions of a historian¹ of the highest character, on the general authenticity and historical value of that portion of the Irish annals made accessible to him by the labours of Dr. O'Connor:

" 'The chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language, from the Second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet, have been recently published, with the fullest evidence of their genuineness and exactness. The Irish nation, though they are robbed of their legends by this authentic publication, are yet by it enabled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses, in its present spoken language. They have exchanged their legendary antiquity for historical fame—indeed, no other nation possesses any monument of its literature, in its present spoken language, which goes back within several centuries of these chronicles.' "

Dr. Keating states in his Preface²:

" If it be objected, that the chronicles of Ireland are liable to suspicion and may be justly questioned, let it be observed in reply that no people in the world took more care to preserve the authority of their public records and to deliver them uncorrupt to posterity. The chronicles of the Kingdom were solemnly purged and examined every three years in the Royal House of Tara, in the presence of the Nobility and Clergy and in a full assembly of the most learned and eminent antiquaries of the country.

" The treaties that are to be seen at this day in the Irish language, contain particular relations of all memorable battles and transactions that happened in Ireland from the first account of time and give an account of the genealogies of the principal families in the Island; and the authority of these public records cannot be questioned, when it is considered that there were above two hundred chroniclers and antiquaries, whose business was to

¹ Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*, vol. i., chap. 2.

² *General History of Ireland*, etc., by Geoffrey Keating, D.D. Translated from the Irish language by Dermot O'Connor, &c.

preserve and record all actions and affairs of consequence relating to the public; they had revenues and salaries settled upon them for their maintenance and to support the dignity of their character; their annals and histories were submitted to the examination and censure of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry, who were most eminent for learning and assembled for that purpose, which is evidence sufficient to evince their authority and to procure them, upon the account of what has been mentioned, a superior esteem to the antiquities of any other nation, except the Jewish, through the world."

As many of the original records to which Dr. Keating had access in the Sixteenth century and which were used for writing his history have long since disappeared, his endorsement as to their accuracy as a whole is, at the present time, of the greatest importance in establishing the value of what is left where frequently the evidence no longer exists for corroboration.

The origin of the Brehon laws of Ireland is unknown. From many Eastern features easily recognized it seems probable that in some form these laws were in existence when the Scythian ancestors of the Irish people were still wandering tribes, to the east of the Black Sea. With some resemblance to Jewish customs and to others still observed in India, and with nothing in common with the Roman law which forms the component part of the laws of all other civilized nations, the probability presents itself that the Brehon system antedates the existence of Roman as well as Grecian civilization. The Gaelic dialect as spoken in Ireland is essentially the same as the old Celtic language, which is one of the oldest of which we have knowledge. This is a natural deduction as there are words in the ancient Greek of Celtic origin and the roots of others traced to the same source appear in the Irish language as spoken at the present time. Since the language of a people and their system of laws naturally bear a close relation, it may be assumed that the early settlers of Ireland brought their laws with them. John O'Hart states¹:

¹ *Irish Pedigrees, or the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, Dublin, 1890, vol. ii., p. 606.

“ That Brehonism was the law system of the other Celtic nations, and that it prevailed amongst the Gauls and Britons as well as amongst the Irish, is probable; for in *Cæsar's Commentaries*, it is stated that amongst the Edui, one of the Nations of Gaul, the title of the chief magistrate or judge was ‘ Vergobretus ’; that he was annually chosen; and had the power of life and death. Yet the term Brehon, in Irish ‘ Breitheamh ’ (Breha), signifies a judge and O’Brien considers that the term, which Cæsar Latinized ‘ vergobretus,’ was in the Gaulic or Celtic, ‘ Fear-go-Breith,’ signifying the man of judgement or a judge. The term, ‘ Fear-go-Breith,’ has the same signification in the Irish (from ‘ Fear ’ (farr,) a man, ‘ go,’ of or with, and ‘ Breith ’ judgement); therefore, it appears the ‘ vergobretus ’ was the chief Brehon in Gaul. The Brehons were the judges and professors of the law, and in ancient times delivered their judgements and proclaimed the laws to the chief and people assembled on the hills and raths on public occasions, as at the conventions of Tara, and other great assemblies. The Brehons, like the bards, presided at the inaugurations of Kings, Princes and chiefs, and, as the judges and expounders of the laws, had great power and privileges in the State; extensive lands were allotted to them for their own use. Each of the Irish Kings, Princes and chiefs, had his own Brehons; and the office, like that of the bards already mentioned, was hereditary in certain families.

“ The most renowned of these Brehons for the justice of his judgement was Moran, son of Cairbre-Ceann-Caitt, the one hundred and first monarch, who reigned in the First century of our Era &c.”

The British Government appointed a commission many years ago to translate and publish the Brehon laws, which was necessary as already portions had been lost. The undertaking proved a difficult and tedious one, as only about half the work has been published after a lapse of about fifty years. The translation of the whole is complete but it yet will require many years fully to collate and print the remainder of this valuable work. Fortunately the greater portion, which has been printed, is of the most interest to the general reader.

These laws bear no relation to the feudal system but are adapted for tribal government and are distinctly patriarchal in character.

The rights and relations of every individual were distinctly provided for, so that neither the head of the clan nor any other person in authority was entitled to greater consideration or privilege than the humblest member of the tribe; and the lands were all held in common. The trades and professions were generally hereditary in certain families; which custom created a species of caste as among Eastern nations. Every member of the tribe or sept had a common origin and kin and the position of chief of the clan was elective. Among other features which seem to indicate an Eastern origin is one still observed by the Hindoos in India: A creditor fasts at the door of his debtor until the obligation is discharged and the indebtedness is often cancelled through fear of causing death from starvation, for which the debtor would be held responsible.

Douglass Hyde, in reference to the more technical portion of these laws, tells us¹:

“ Most of the Brehon law tracts derive their titles not from individuals who promulgated them, but either from the subjects treated of or else from some particular locality connected with the composition of the work. They are essentially digests rather than codes, compilations, in fact, of learned lawyers. The essential idea of modern law is entirely absent from them, if by law is understood a command given by some one possessing authority to do or to forbear doing, under pains and penalties. There appears to be, in fact, no sanction laid down in the Brehon law against those who violated its maxims, nor did the State provide any such. This was in truth the great inherent weakness of Irish jurisprudence, and it was one inseparable from tribal organization, which lacked the controlling hand of a strong central government, and in which the idea of the State as distinguished from the tribe had scarcely emerged. If a litigant chose to disregard

¹ *A Literary History of Ireland from Earliest Times to the Present Day*, New York, 1899, p. 584.

the brehon's ruling there was no machinery of the law set in motion to force him to accept it. The only executive authority in ancient Ireland which lay behind the decision of the judge was the traditional obedience and good sense of the people, and it does not appear that, with the full force of public opinion behind them, the brehons had any trouble in getting their decisions accepted by the common people. Not that this was any part of their duty. On the contrary, their business was over so soon as they had pronounced their decision, and given judgement between the contending parties. If one of these parties refused to abide by this decision, it was no affair of the brehon's, it was the concern of the public, and the public appear to have seen to it that the brehon's decision was always carried out. This seems to have been indeed the very essence of democratic government with no executive authority behind it but the will of the people, and it appears to have trained a law-abiding and intelligent public, for the Elizabethan statesman, Sir John Davis, confesses frankly in his admirable essay on the true causes why Ireland was never subdued, that '*There is no nation or people under the sunne that doth love equall and indifferent justice better than the Irish ; or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof although it be against themselves, so that they may have the protection and benefit of the law, when uppon just cause they do desire it.*'¹

“ The Irish appear to have had professional advocates, a court of appeal and regular methods of procedure for carrying the case before it and if a brehon could be shown to have delivered a false or unjust judgement he himself was liable to damages. The brehonship was not elective; it seems indeed in later times to have been almost hereditary, but the brehon had to pass through a long and tedious course before he was permitted to practice; he was obliged to be ‘qualified in every department of legal science,’ says the text and the Brehon law was remarkable for its copiousness furnishing, as Sir Samuel Ferguson remarks ‘a striking example of the length to which moral and metaphysical refinements may be carried under rude social conditions.’ As a make-weight against the privileges which are always the concomitant of riches, the penalties for misdeeds and omissions of all kinds were

¹ This quotation has already been given in the Introduction but it will bear repetition, with profit to the reader.

carefully graduated in the interests of the poor and crime or breach of contract might reduce a man from the highest to the lowest grade.”

Early in the third century King Cormac Mac Art established a college in Ireland for the purpose of studying and classifying these laws into a definite form, from which in a general way it has never been changed. After St. Patrick had converted the country to Christianity a council was formed in 438 A.D. consisting of three kings, three bishops and three brehons or judges, who were commissioned to cancel every feature of these laws which was found to conflict with Christianity and, after a labor of nine years, the task was completed. Culinan, the King-Bishop of Cashel, who died in 903, made some additional changes, and it is stated that about a century later Brian Boru directed others to be made. After this time they remained in the same form until their use was finally forbidden by the English Government. An attempt was made during Queen Elizabeth's reign to abolish this system of laws which had been established in the country from the earliest record. But the Irish people disregarded all legislation on the subject and it was not until at the beginning of the reign of James I. that they were sufficiently overpowered by force of arms to enable the English Government to establish its own judges and to abolish the Brehon system.

So closely do these laws enter into family and individual relations, through every walk of life, and so clearly do they provide for the functions of all serving in a public capacity, that an accurate knowledge can be obtained of the manners and customs of the Irish people as they existed over fifteen hundred years ago. If we had no other source of information the fact cannot be questioned, with this evidence, that the Irish people enjoyed, in consequence of their many social virtues, a civilization which in many respects would compare favorably with any modern standard. Moreover, it is shown that the Irish were a learned, pious and accomplished people when England was, with every country north

of Italy, in a state of semi-barbarism and all these countries, as we shall show hereafter, were indebted to the Irish missionaries for their first reception of Christianity and Christian civilization.

Dr. Hyde states ¹:

“Fourteen different books of civil law are alluded to by name in the glosses on the Seanchus, and Cormac in his glossary gives quotations from five books. It is remarkable that only one of the five quoted by Cormac is among the fourteen mentioned in the glosses on the Seanchus Mór; and this alone goes to show the number of books upon law which have long since perished.”

There exists no reason to doubt the statement of the earliest authorities that Ireland had commercial relations with the Phœnician merchants, which would antedate the civilization of Greece and Rome. Tacitus states that the ports and harbors of Ireland were better known than those of Britain from the concourse of merchants there for the purposes of commerce. With commerce there must have existed some degree of civilization. This statement by Tacitus in his *Life of Agricola*, who served on the coast of Britain as Prefect in the Roman Army between 78 and 86 of the first century, is of importance in this connection, as his reference to Ireland, except in the accounts given by the Irish people themselves, is the earliest historical mention of the country to which no question can be raised.

Edmund Spenser, the poet, who spent a large portion of his life in Ireland, wrote in 1596 ²:

“The Irish are one of the most ancient nations that I know of at this end of the world. . . . And come of as mighty a race as ever the worlde brought 10rth.”

The Irish seamen were expert navigators and the proof as to what has long been claimed may yet be forthcoming from the unexplored treasures of the Vatican library, showing

¹ *Literary History*, p. 590.

² *View of the State of Ireland*, Dublin, 1633, pp. 26, 32.

that the Irish visited the American continent before any other people of Europe.¹ From the old maps and charts deposited there, as part of the reports made by the early Irish missionaries to show their wanderings over the earth, it is made evident that for centuries the Irish had a more accurate geographical knowledge of the earth than was possessed by any other people of the period. The true shape of the world was recognized in Ireland at an early period before Copernicus and, fully five hundred years before the birth of Galileo, the solar system was fully understood and taught with an advanced knowledge of astronomy. One of these Irish missionaries to Italy was Fearghal, and known on the continent as Virgilius. He was the great astronomer of his day, and in the seventh century discovered the rotundity of the earth and was the first to teach this as well as the existence of the Antipodes. He was made Archbishop of Salzburg being one of the most learned men of his time, and was canonized by Pope Gregory.

Hyde, after detailing what was accomplished in Ireland by St. Patrick, states²:

“He, after about twenty years of peripatetic teaching, established at Armagh about the year 450 the first Christian school ever founded in Ireland, the progenitor of that long line of colleges which made Ireland famous throughout Europe, and to which two hundred years later, her Anglo-Saxon neighbours flocked in thousands.”

¹ See *History of America before Columbus*, etc., by P. de Roo, Phila., 1900. Columbus visited Ireland on his return from Iceland, where he undoubtedly saw the Journal of Eric, and, it is claimed, he there met one Patrick Maguire, an experienced mariner and one familiar with the traditions in connection with the early voyages to America of Irish navigators. The list of those who accompanied Columbus on his first voyage has been found, and among the number appears the name of Patrick Maguire, in Spanish guise, as well as of several other Irishmen. Irishmen are always in the lead, it is probably true, and as claimed Maguire was the first to reach the shore upon the landing of Columbus. Millions of his country people who followed Maguire to the westward have received as little credit for their lead in development of the land of their adoption.

² P. 134

And in a note :

“So many English were attracted to Armagh in the seventh century that the city was divided into three wards, or thirds, one of which was called the Saxon third.”

The Greek and Hebrew languages were regularly taught in the Irish universities during the Middle Ages, at a time when every country of Europe, north of Italy, was yet in a state of barbaric ignorance—Latin, of course, was as fluently spoken as the native Irish language.

Hyde has written the following in relation to the Irish people¹ :

“Undisturbed by the Romans, unconquered though shattered by the Norsemen, unsubdued though sorely stricken by the Normans, and still struggling with the Saxons, the Irish Gaul alone has preserved a record of his own past and preserved it in a literature of his own, for a length of time and with a continuity which outside of Greece has no parallel in Europe. His own account of himself is that his ancestors, the Milesians or children of Miledh, came to Ireland from Spain about 1000 B.C.

“Having come to the conclusion that Irish topography is useless for proving the genuineness of past history, let us look at Irish genealogy. . . . When every sept and name and family and clan in Ireland fit in, each in its own place, with universally mutual acknowledgement and unanimity, each man carefully counted his ancestors through their hundredfold ramifications, and tracing them back first to him from whom they got their surname, and next to him from whom they got their tribe name, and from thence to the founder of their house, who in his turn grafts on to one of the great stems (Eremonian, Eberian, Irian or Ithian); and when not only political friendships and alliances but the long holding of tribal lands, depended upon the strict registration and observance of these things.

“There are many considerations which lead us to believe that Irish genealogical books were kept from the earliest introduction of the art of writing, and kept with greater accuracy, perhaps, than

¹ Pp. 17, 58, 71, 72, 73.

any other records of the past whatsoever. The chiefest of these is the well known fact that, under the tribal system, no one possessed lawfully any portion of the soil inhabited by his tribe if he were not of the same race with his chief. Consequently even those of the lowest rank in the tribe traced and recorded their pedigree with as much care as did the highest &c. . . . All these genealogies were entered in the local book of each tribe and were preserved in the verses of the hereditary poets. . . . The subject of tribal genealogy upon which the whole social fabric depended was far too important to be left without a check in the hands of tribal historians, however well intended. And this check was offered by the great convention or Feis, which took place triennially at Tara, whither the historians had to bring their books that under the scrutiny of the jealous eyes of rivals they might be purged of whatever could not be substantiated.”

And in support of this Hyde quotes from Keating's history¹:

“ ‘And neither law nor usage nor historic record was ever held as genuine until it had received such approval and nothing that disagreed with the roll of Tara could be respected as truth.’

“ ‘Through these books the pedigree of nearly every individual of each clan can be traced to about the second century and many beyond this period and in no other country can this be done.’”

In continuation Hyde writes:

“ It has been frequently assumed, especially by English writers, that the pre-historic Irish, because of their remoteness from the Continent, must have been ruder, wilder and more uncivilized than the inhabitants of Great Britain. But such an assumption is—to say nothing of our literary remains—in no way borne out by the results of archæological research. The contrary rather appears to be the case, that in point of wealth, artistic feeling and workmanship, the Irish of the Bronze age surpassed the inhabitants of Great Britain.”

Dr. Hyde quotes from M. Darmesteter²:

¹ Hyde, p. 73. Keating. See under the reign of Tuathal Teachtmhar.

² P. 216.

“The Classic traditions to all appearances dead in Europe, burst out into full flower in the Isle of Saints, and the Renaissance began in Ireland seven hundred years before it was known in Italy. During three centuries Ireland was the asylum of the higher learning which took sanctuary there from the uncultivated States in Europe. At one time Armagh, the religious capital of Christian Ireland was the metropolis of civilization.”

We have shown that St. Chrysostom, writing A.D. 387, stated, “The British islands had felt the power of the Divine word, churches having been founded there and altars erected, etc.” This reference could alone apply to Ireland and to England, but indirectly in so far as the influence of Ireland had extended there. Doubtless there were Christians among the soldiers and Christian missionaries following the Roman army, wherever it advanced in England, but their influence for converting the people must have been very limited, because Rome did not tolerate then the Christian religion. If any extended knowledge of Christianity had been acquired in England after the fall of the Roman Empire, it must have been gained through the Irish missionaries, with whom the people had more in common than with the Romans. In Ireland the Christian faith was not only received to some extent at the earliest period, but it was preserved there after the whole of Europe had been over-run and reduced to a state of barbarism. To the reader who has given no special thought to the subject this may seem to be a groundless statement. But at that time Ireland was as civilized from a literary standpoint as Rome had ever been, although without her wealth and luxurious living. After this period, while the Roman world had been reduced to the lowest degree of barbarism, Ireland was the only portion of the world where the practice of the Christian religion remained in force, with her former standard of civilization unchanged. The Irish missionaries, it is now known, gradually converted and civilized not only the descendants of the original inhabitants of every nation at the present time existing in Europe, but also the barbarians who had conquered these countries. This is

shown by the long list of Irish saints still honored throughout Europe.

Germany was converted by S.S. Aillil, Coloman and Dunchadh; France by S.S. Fiachra, Fridolin and Fergil; Italy by S.S. Columbanus and Cataldus; Switzerland by S.S. Gall, Moengal, Martagh, and Dicuil; Bavaria, by S.S. Kilian and Malachy; Wurtemberg, by S.S. Laighen, together with many others of less note.

In the calendar for Germany alone there are 187 saints bearing Irish names, with a large number in addition on the calendar of every other European country, where the names indicate beyond question their Irish nationality.

Therefore proof exists that at one period the learning of the world was vested in Ireland, and to her learned men we are indebted for the preservation of all that is known of Greek and Latin literature, of ancient history previous to the fall of Rome in the fifth century as well as for several centuries thereafter, and that Ireland in addition transmitted to the world her advanced knowledge of the arts and sciences.

To the Bavarian scholar, John Kasper Zeuss, the world is indebted for the discovery of Ireland's former greatness,—or at least to him is due the credit of awakening the world to interest in and to a knowledge of facts which had been forgotten by all save only the most learned men of the world.

Zeuss was the first to hunt up and study the Irish manuscripts which had been forgotten in the old monasteries, founded by the Irish missionaries throughout Germany and elsewhere. He devoted many years to acquiring a knowledge of the Irish language. It is claimed that it was only after devoting over fifteen years of close study of its structure, that he enlightened the world as to the antiquity of the Irish language and was able to prove that it was the foundation of more modern languages. His *Grammatica Celtica*¹ was published in 1853, and the work proved a revelation. It may

¹ *Grammatica Celtica e monumentis vetustis tam Hibernicæ Linguæ quasi Britannicarum dialectorum Cambricæ cornicæ aremorica comparatis Gallicæ prisca reliquis construxit.*—J. C. Zeuss, Phil. Dr. Hist. Prof.

be justly claimed that the incentive to all investigation since and to the marvellous spread of interest in Ireland's former history has been based to a great degree on Zeuss' teaching.

In Germany to-day the Irish language is both spoken and taught in many of the universities and among her learned men there are more scholars with a profound knowledge of the early history and literature of the Irish people than exist in any other country.¹ All do not, however, give Ireland full credit, having unfortunately received their first impressions more from English sources than from their own investigations. English writers have been at least consistent and from their earliest records they have agreed to represent the Irish people as having been in a state of barbarism when they first came in contact with "the enlightened Anglo-Norman civilization."

The truth of this statement is shown by Hallam in his noted work on the Middle Ages. With frequent evidence of profound research on almost every subject, this writer ignores the Irish people as if they had never existed and claims overmuch for the "Anglo-Saxons," while he even makes the assertion²: "The first Apostles of Germany were English, etc."

The true condition at the time of the invasion of Henry II. is now so easy of proof, and to the advantage of the Irish, that it is not necessary to consider the subject at great length.

For centuries England had no place of learning outside of the schools attached to the monasteries which were founded by the Irish missionaries and it is believed, if the truth could be established, that England's first University

¹ The fact is being generally appreciated that, in addition to any other advantage, a knowledge of the Gaelic, the elder sister branch from the primitive language of the Latin and Greek, gives the greatest facility for the acquirement of all other languages and in this respect it is unique.

² *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, etc. By Henry Hallam, etc., London, 1860, vol. i., p. 121.

at Oxford had thus its origin.¹ The Irish missionaries were the first to bear through Wales to England the Christian belief in the time of Ethelbert's reign and they visited every country of northern Europe, and England, long before the arrival in 596 of St. Augustine. Beyond the limited influence exerted by the Romans, England was indebted directly or indirectly to the Irish people for her first knowledge of civilization; a poor return she has ever made for the obligation!

Prof. Heinrich Zimmer, of the University of Berlin, a German authority on the Irish language and literature, commences his remarkable book with the following quotation²:

“ A recent work³ on the *History of Ireland from the Reformation up to the Period of its Union with England* begins with these words:

“ ‘ When a semi-barbarous or less cultivated nation becomes subject to one more highly cultivated, it generally receives as a compensation for the loss of its independence all the advantages and blessings naturally resulting from a higher degree of civilization. But a new condition of things was produced in Ireland through English rule; instead of arousing in the Irish mind a love and appreciation of English culture by the exercise of a moderate and conciliatory policy, calculated to lead up to a gradual and harmonious blending of two races, victor and vanquished, the English managed, through a mistaken and blundering policy, as well as by intentional oppression and persecution, to bring about such a condition of affairs in Ireland that, in the first place, the social status of the Celtic race sank lower and lower, while, on the other hand, the tender germ of native culture

¹ Oxford University, it is said, was founded in 842 by Alfred the Great and he doubtless availed himself of the learned Irish missionaries from Armagh, Ireland, who had long before established a noted monastery at Oxford which would thus naturally become the nucleus of the University, as some of them had been his own instructors.

² *The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture*, by H. Zimmer, translated by Jane Loring Edmonds, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, etc., 1891, pp. 1-4, 14, 15, 130.

³ By Dr. Hassenkamp, Leipsic.

was nipped in the bud, or failed of proper development from want of nourishment, and degenerated in quality.'

“ These words explain the prevailing views of the present so-called cultivated circles of England; they hold that at the time of the claimed conquest of Ireland (1171), the former was, according to the ideas of the time, a half savage country in its relation to and compared with its conquerors in point of culture, and that its people obstinately set themselves in opposition *to the blessings and advantages brought them by their highly civilized rulers.* (?) Hence the hardest and cruellest measures laid upon Ireland and its people during the ages of English domination receive a sort of extenuation or justification. But the very fact that such views as these are entertained by England, weighs more heavily upon Ireland to-day than all her political and social ills; she rebels because England, not satisfied with stripping her of every present benefit, would even rob her of the consolation in her existing wretchedness, to be derived from looking back with pride over a glorious past. Ireland can indeed lay claim to a great past; she can not only boast of having been the birth place and abode of high culture in the fifth and sixth centuries, at a time when the Roman Empire was being undermined by the alliances and inroads of German tribes, which threatened to sink the whole continent into barbarism, but also of having made strenuous efforts in the seventh and up to the tenth century to spread her learning among the German and Roman peoples, *thus forming the actual foundation of our present Continental civilization.*”

Zimmer has written in reference to these early Irish missionaries:

“ They were instructors in every known branch of science and learning of the time, possessors and bearers of a higher culture than was at that period to be found anywhere on the Continent and can surely claim to have been the pioneers,—to have laid the corner-stone of Western culture on the Continent, the rich results of which Germany shares and enjoys to-day, in common with all other civilized nations.

“ Considering the attitude of the Irish monks in the seventh century toward the Anglo-Saxon and Franks, it is quite easy to

comprehend in what way and how earnest was the desire for knowledge awakened in their converts, and why it became a necessity for these to group themselves around their revered instructors and to follow in their lead. Thereupon Anglo-Saxons flocked to Ireland in large numbers to complete their education, both religious and classical, in Irish monasteries. Many such instances are quoted by Bede.¹ He informs us that in 654, many nobles among the Angles went to Ireland to pursue theological studies and were warmly welcomed by the Irish who furnished them with board, instruction, and even the necessary manuscripts quite free of expense. . . . But the most eloquent testimony to Ireland's fame as a seat of learning in the seventh century is furnished us by the Anglo-Saxon Aldhelm."

Professor Zimmer, in a note, quotes what Dr. Reeves says of Ireland²:

"We must deplore the merciless rule of barbarism" (English) "in this country, whence was swept away all domestic evidence of advanced learning, leaving scarcely anything at home but legendary lore, and which has compelled us to draw from foreign depositories the materials on which to rest the proof that Ireland of old was really entitled to that literary eminence which national feeling lays claim to. Our real knowledge of the crowds of Irish teachers and scribes who migrated to the continent and became founders of many monasteries, is derived from foreign chronicles, and their testimony is borne out by the evidence of the numerous Irish MSS. and other relics of the eighth to the tenth century, occurring in the libraries throughout Europe."

The Rev. D. Lynch, S.J., tells us in his article on "The Celtic Renaissance"³:

"The obscuring of Celtic influence in European civilization and in particular of Celtic literary influence is one of the riddles of history. Perhaps it was a part of the destiny of this strange race, the oldest and most remarkable in Europe, and who seems called to play yet an important part in human society, that they

¹ Bede's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Bohn edition.

² *Adamnan*. By William Reeves, D.D., Dublin, 1857.

³ *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, magazine, New York, 1901.

should have been hidden so long in the busy world's outer rim. . . . And even the Herculean labours of the Irish missionaries when Europe was barbaric were forgotten. . . . As for the Scots, they were Irish, one and all, as their name shows, nothing being clearer in history than their migrations, in the fifth and subsequent centuries, from the motherland then called Scotia. . . . It was the appointed mission of the Irish monks at the dawn of European civilization to bridge over the abyss between the diseased and decrepit pagan empire of Rome and the barbaric tribes of the north and to give the latter a civilization which the dying Romans were incapable of giving; so it seems to be the vocation of the missionary Irish race—for as a race they, and they alone, are to-day missionary—to resist the more subtle inroads of neopaganism. . . .

“The fact is well established that the name of Scotland was not used or applied to any portion of North Britain until the twelfth century. Yet from ignorance as well as from the existing prejudice of many against the Irish people, the credit due their missionaries has been attributed to the Scotch.”

On this fact Professor Zimmer writes:

“The Scots mentioned in the Middle Ages are synonymous with the Celtic population of Ireland and were not to be distinguished from that people that early wandered through the northern part of Britain and settled in the Highlands.’

On the same page he quotes from Stokes ¹:

“Wherever, in the first three centuries, the term Scot occurs it always means Irishmen. During the first seven centuries the Picts were the inhabitants of modern Scotland. It was not until the eleventh or twelfth century that the term Scotland or Scotia was applied in its modern sense.”

Zimmer also gives the following:

“The author of *Early Christian Art in Ireland* thus quotes from Reeves' *Adamnan*:

¹ *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, etc., by Rev. G. T. Stokes, London, 1886.

“ ‘ The Early Christian art of Ireland may well be termed Scotie as well as Irish, just as the first missionaries from Ireland to the Continent were termed Scots, Ireland having borne the name of Scotia for many centuries before it was transferred to North Britain, and foreign chronicles of the ninth century speak of ‘ Hibernia, Island of the Scots ’ when referring to events in Ireland regarding which corresponding entries are found in the annals of that country. ’ ”

Zimmer continues to quote :

“ The manuscripts which remain in Italy as evidence of the labors of the Irish monks in that country, are to be seen in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, in the University Library of Turin and in the Real Biblioteca Borbonica, Naples. All these manuscripts are said to have been brought originally from Bobio, a monastery in Piedmont, founded by Columbanus in the year 613. ”

John O’Hart also points out where a great portion of the Irish MSS. are to be found ¹ :

“ There are still existing vast collections of ancient and valuable Irish MSS. in various libraries in Ireland; as those of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Royal Irish Academy; also in many private libraries. In various libraries in England there are great collections of Irish MSS.; as in those of the Bodleian Library, at Oxford; of the British Museum and of Lambert in London; and in the library of the Duke of Buckingham at Stowe, there is an immense and most valuable collection.

“ In the libraries of the Continent there are also collections of Irish MSS.; particularly at Rome, Paris and Louvain and in the libraries of Spain and Portugal; and it is said that there are Irish MSS. in the Royal Library at Copenhagen,² which were carried off

¹ *Irish Pedigrees, or the Original Stem of the Irish Nation*, Dublin, 1892, vol. ii., p. 9.

² It is claimed no Irish MSS. are to be found in Denmark, and the charge was probably made by English writers as a vindication of the vandalism of the Normans. The only reference made in the early Irish chronicles known to the writer exonerates the Danes. In the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, page 170, it is stated that the Danes burnt on the third of the Calends of June in 1013, Ard-mach (Armagh)—“ from the one end to the other, *save only the library.* ”

by the Danes from Ireland, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A vast number of Irish MSS. were destroyed, particularly during the wars in Ireland by Queen Elizabeth and Cromwell. Webb says¹: 'It was 'till the time of King James the First, the object of government to discover and destroy all remains of the literature of the Irish, in order the more fully to eradicate from their minds every trace of their ancient independence. . . . This no doubt, is why some of the Irish pedigrees are not now forthcoming.'

The remains of Irish literature that escaped the destroying hand of Norman and Saxon and the action of time are of truly gigantic proportions. Over six hundred thousand quarto pages of ancient Irish manuscripts, the writer has seen stated, are to be found in the libraries of the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin, alone.

The Irish people from the earliest period were noted as a musical people and in every place of learning music was taught with the regular literary curriculum. As a people they also cultivated athletic sports with as much zeal as the ancient Greeks and several times a year tournaments during many centuries were held in different parts of the country, where the local experts met and took part in the national contests. Among these contests the game of chess always occupied a prominent part and it may be claimed to have been from an early time a national game.

These tournaments were held year after year, until finally the assemblage of the people was prevented by the English authorities. This was done with the object of destroying all national feeling, as for the same purpose their seats of learning were closed.

MacGeoghegan² gives an abstract from the will of Cathire More, King of Leinster, which was written 144 A.D. Among many bequests:

¹ *Analysis of the History and Antiquities of Ireland, etc.*, by William Webb, Dublin, 1791.

² *The History of Ireland, etc.*, by the Abbé MacGeoghegan, New York, edition 1896, p. 90.

“ He left to Tuathal-Tigech, son of Main his brother, ten chariots drawn by horses; five play tables; five chess boards &c.
. . . . To Crimothan he bequeathed fifty billiard balls of brass, with pools and cues of the same material; ten tric-tracs of exquisite workmanship; twelve chess boards with chessmen, &c.
. . . . To Mogcorf, son of Laogare Birnbuadhach, he left a hundred cows spotted with white with their calves, coupled together with yokes of brass; a hundred bucklers; a hundred red javelins; a hundred brilliant lances; fifty saffron-colored great-coats; a hundred different colored horses; a hundred drinking-cups curiously wrought; a hundred barrels made of yew tree; fifty chariots of exquisite workmanship; fifty chess-boards; fifty tables used by wrestlers; &c.”

There is nothing to show that King Cathire More did not possess a larger collection but to have been the owner of at least sixty-seven chess-boards would indicate that that game was a popular one among his guests. The supposition that the game was popular among all classes is supported by the fact of the frequent turning up of metal and bone chessmen in Ireland by the ploughshare, particularly in the neighborhood of places where it is known military encampments had been held.

With the development of music in advance of any other people of the time, and from the fondness of the Irish for the game of chess, it seems evident, if we had no other proof, that they had made at an early period a greater advance in civilization than their neighbors.

Wherever the Irish missionaries went, in England and over Europe, down the valley of the Danube and the northern portion of Italy, they developed with the first teaching of Christianity a taste for music and doubtless a knowledge of chess. The earliest church music written on vellum by these Irish missionaries can be easily recognized by the large square notes which they used and, from the frequent representation about the illuminated initial letters of the people singing together, we must suppose that the custom which exists in Germany and other countries of con-

gregational singing and general taste for music was first introduced by these missionaries and has continued to the present time.

It is a curious circumstance that one of the first books printed in England at Westminster Abbey by Caxton in 1474 and under church influence should have been *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*.¹ Introduced as the game doubtless was by the Irish missionaries into England, it might be asked if a taste for the game had been thus kept alive by the clergy for over nine hundred years and was the selection made by churchmen, who directed the printing and among whom the Irish influence in England had, through their teachers or learned men, been maintained even to so late a period?

As a résumé of the subject we quote the views of a well-known German scholar at second hand, from a brochure by the late Rev. Dr. Stang who was himself a German by birth²:

“ We recall the classic words of Dr. Doellinger regarding the period in which Ireland sent her heroic sons to evangelize the Pagan Nations of the Continent: ‘ During the sixth and seventh centuries the church of Ireland stood in the full beauty of its bloom. The spirit of the Gospel operated amongst the people with a vigorous and vivifying power; troops of holy men, from the highest to the lowest ranks of society, obeyed the counsel of Christ, and forsook all things, that they might follow Him.

“ “ There was not a country of the world, during the period, which could boast of pious foundations or of religious communities equal to those that adorned this far distant Island. Among the Irish, the doctrines of the Christian religion were preserved pure and entire, the names of heresy or of schism were not known to them. And in the Bishop of Rome they acknowledged and venerated the Supreme Head of the Church on earth, and continued with him, and through him with the whole Church, in a never interrupted communion. The schools in the Irish cloisters

¹ This was the first book printed by Caxton in which the date of publication was given.

² *Germany's Debt to Ireland*, by Rev. Wm. Stang, D.D., late the Right Rev. Bishop of Fall River, R. I., New York, 1889, p. 5.

were at this time the most celebrated in all the West. Whilst almost the whole of Europe was desolated by war, peaceful Ireland, free from the invasions of external foes, opened to the lovers of learning and piety a welcome asylum. The strangers, who visited the Island, not only from the neighboring shores of Britain, but also from the most remote nations of the Continent, receiving from the Irish people the most hospitable reception, gratuitous entertainment, free instruction, and even the books that were necessary for their studies. Thus in the year 536, in the time of St. Senanus, there arrived at Cork, from the Continent, fifteen monks, who were led thither by their desire to perfect themselves in the practices of an ascetic life under Irish directors, and to study the Sacred Scriptures in the school established near that city. At a later period, after the year 650, the Anglo-Saxons, in particular, passed over to Ireland in great numbers for the same laudable purposes. On the other hand, many holy and learned Irishmen left their own country to proclaim the faith, to establish or to reform monasteries in distant lands, and thus to become the benefactors of almost every nation in Europe.' ”

Dr. Stang states¹ :

“ The Irish not only penetrated the inhospitable and uncultivated parts of the Continent, we find them even on the shores of America as early as the eighth century. Grave historians admit that the Irish discovered America seven hundred years before Christopher Columbus colonized that portion of America now known as North and South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida. Gndlief Gndlaugan, a Norse navigator, who landed here ” (North America) “ in the beginning of the eleventh century, found the people speaking Irish, and in the Sagas the country is called ‘ Ireland-it Mikla,’ that is Great Ireland.”

The necessity for the preservation of the Irish language and to cite its past glory cannot be given in more patriotic terms than by the following :

¹ *Germany's Debt*, etc., note, p. 8.

" THE CELTIC TONGUE.¹

" Ay, build ye up the Celtic tongue above O'Curry's grave;
 Speed the good work, ye patriot souls who long your land to
 save,
 Who long to light the flame again on Freedom's altar dead,
 Who long to call the glories back from hapless Erin fled,
 Who long to gem her sadden'd brow with queenly wreath again,
 And raise a warrior people up, a Nation in her train.
 Speed then the work; be scorn our lot, our ancient pride is
 flown,
 If midst the nations on the earth we stand in shame alone.

" The Celtic Tongue! The Celtic Tongue! Why should its
 voice be still,
 When all its magic tones with old and golden glories thrill—
 When, like an aged bard, it sings departed warrior's might—
 When it was heard in Kingly halls where throng'd the brave and
 bright—
 When oft its glowing tales of war made dauntless hearts beat
 high—
 When oft its tales of hapless love drew tears from beauty's eye?

" Grand tongue of heroes! How its tones upon the gale uprose,
 When great Cuchullin's Red Branch Knights rushed down upon
 their foes;
 And how its accents fired the brave to struggle for their rights,
 When from thy lips they burst in flames, Con of the Hundred
 Fights!
 Or when the breeze its war-cries bore across that gory plain,
 Where royal Brian cheered his hosts to battle with the Dane.
 Oh, who may fire *our* sluggish hearts like them to dare and do?
 When shall we see thy like again, O hero-soul'd Boru?

" Sweet tongue of bards! How swelled its tones in lofty flights
 of song,
 When white-robed minstrels deftly swept the sounding chords
 along!

¹ Portion of poem printed in *The Nation*, Dublin, Nov. 1, 1862, by an unknown author.

When Oisín touch'd the trembling strings to hymn the Fenian
name,

When thrill'd thy lyre, fond Fionbell, with gallant Osgar's fame.

Alike 't would tell of ladye-love and chief of princely line—

Fair Aileen now the poets sung, and now the Geraldine.

'T was music's self—that barded tongue, till iron days began,
Then swell'd its swan-like strains, and died with thee, O'Carolan!

“ In dulcet tones the wide world o'er though gifted bards have
sung,

Yet sweeter sounds thy minstrelsy, soul-soothing *Celtic Tongue*.

“ The Celtic Tongue! The Celtic Tongue! No more in bower
and hall

Where Rank holds sway or Beauty reigns, its liquid accents fall.

Far from the courts of Pride and Power, within the lowly cot

It finds a home—that outlaw'd tongue—the poor despise it not.

But still upon the mountain heath, or in the moonlit vale,

In that sweet speech the shepherd sings, the lover breathes his
tale,

And oft times in the rustic church the *Soggarth* knows its might

To lead the wretch from shades of vice to virtue's path of light.

Oh, on the sinner's harden'd heart it falls as dew from Heaven,

The softened soul dissolves in tears—he weeps, and is forgiven.

Thus lurks amid the simple poor, forgotten and unknown,
That ancient tongue, that royal tongue, so prized in ages flown,
Which came to make our isle its home from lands 'neath Orient
skies,

Which saw the wondrous pillar-shrines in graceful grandeur
rise—

Which echoed in its days of pride within Emania's walls,

Through high Kincora's princely courts, through Tara's regal
halls,

Which swelled in holy song to Heaven upon the morning air—

When from the Sacred Groves went up the Druid's voice of
prayer.

And oft, in brighter Christian days, it rose in holier strain

From Glendalough's calm Eden shades, from Innisfallen's fane.

It breathed in vesper orison, when evening's shadows fell,

From city shrines, from abbey piles, from hermit's lonely cell,
 It sped in wingèd accents forth, from dawn to day's last smile,
 From lips of sages, saints, and kings, throughout our sacred Isle.
 Ere Grecian fame, ere Latin name, from infant state had sprung,
 In manhood's strength that language stood, the mighty Celtic
 Tongue!

“ The Celtic Tongue!—Then must it die? Say, shall our language go?

No! By Ulfadha's kingly soul! By sainted Laurence, no!
 No! By the shades of saints and chiefs, of holy name and high,
 Whose deeds, as they have lived with it, must die when it shall
 die—

No! By the memories of the Past that round our ruin twine—
 No! By our evening hope of suns in coming days to shine.
 It shall not go—it must not die—the language of our sires;
 While Erin's glory glads our souls or freedom's name inspires,
 That lingering ray from stars gone down—oh, let its light remain!

That last bright link with splendours flown—oh, snap it not in
 twain! ”

Mr. John Quinn, a member of the New York Bar, has given the best summary on the Irish Literary Revival, which was copied from the New York *Sun* into *The Gael*, New York, April, 1903, and from which article the following extracts have been taken :

“ The Irish language has never died out. It has always been a living language, largely as the result of the propaganda of the Gaelic League during the last fifteen years. The official census of Ireland for 1901 shows that the number of persons returned as speaking only Irish was 38,192, and the number speaking both Irish and English was 640,953, making a total of Irish speakers in Ireland in the year 1901 of 679,145. . . . Irish is also largely spoken in the Highlands of Scotland, by nearly as many people who know no English as in Ireland itself, the number being estimated at about 40,000. Irish is, in short, to-day the living

tongue of almost as many people as speak half a dozen modern languages of Europe, Welsh, Greek, Servian, Bulgarian, Norwegian, or Danish. It is the living language of nearly 700,000 people; hundreds of books and pamphlets are printed monthly in it; newspapers entirely in the Irish language, even down to the advertisements, are printed and circulated weekly throughout Ireland; addresses and songs and speeches and poems in Irish are spoken and recited from stages where not a word of English is spoken; sermons are preached and prayers are read in Irish, and scholars from many universities of Europe go each year to Ireland to study the Irish language as spoken by the people of Ireland to-day.

“So far from being the ‘maddest of all literary crazes,’ European scholars like Zeuss, Bopp, Grimm, Ebel, Zimmer, Windisch, Zimmerman, D’Arbois, De Jubainville, Dr. Whibly Stokes, Dr. Standish Hayes O’Grady, Prof. Kuno Meyer and Dr. Douglass Hyde, to name only a few out of many, have devoted a large part of their lives to the study of Irish literature and the Irish language. The twenty-two volumes of the *Revue Celtique* are devoted to the Celtic language and literature, and there are kindred German publications, the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* and the *Irische Texte*, edited by Dr. Ernest Windisch of the University of Leipsic.

“Irish literature possesses an almost perfect system of prosody, self-evolved, self-invented in Irish, that no other European country possesses. As early even as the year 750, Irish poets were making most perfect rhymes, *a thing not known for at least two centuries later in any other modern vernacular*; and the great scholar Zeuss, who put Celtic studies on a sure foundation, and Constantin Nigra have strongly urged the fact that *it is to the Celts that Europe owes the very invention of rhyme*, and the modern poets of Ireland have carried rhymes to a perfection that people who have not actually read their poems cannot even dream of.”

Before bringing this subject to a close no better example, to show the ignorance of the average English writer in relation to Irish history, can be cited than the well-known statement of Froude as to the condition of Ireland at the time the Normans gained their first foothold in that country.

So accessible is the material now, within reach of the most superficial investigation, that it must be assumed Mr. Froude was either voluntarily ignorant or that he perverted facts for a special purpose.

He wrote:

“The Irish, when the Normans took charge of them, were, with the exception of the Clergy, scarcely better than a mob of armed savages; the only occupation considered honorable was fighting and plunder; their religion had degenerated into a superstition, and no longer served as a check upon the most ferocious passions. Their chief characteristics were treachery, thirst for blood, unbridled licentiousness, and inveterate detestation of order and rule; as a nation they have done nothing which posterity will not be anxious to forget.”

A cotemporary English writer and historic student, the Hon. Colin Lindsey, a brother of William, Earl of Crawford and Balcares, of Scotland, has written the following as the result of his investigations¹:

“Before England was born into the family of nations, Ireland was an autonomy recognized as such by contemporary races. When Albion was inhabited by a barbarous and savage people, Ireland was in the height of prosperity. When the Anglo-Saxons were tearing each other to pieces, Ireland was possessed of a settled government, and was administered by wise laws, so ancient that no one knows precisely the period of their first promulgation. When this country (England) was remarkable for its ignorance and brutality, Ireland was celebrated for her culture and civilization. When St. Augustine was preaching to the heathen, when Ethelbert was receiving baptism, when Alfred was a wanderer, Ireland was sending forth her missionaries all over the world, spreading everywhere the Gospel and civilization. When the foundations of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford were

¹ *De Ecclesia et Cathedra*, etc., London, 1887.

laid, the colleges of Ireland had long been flourishing seats of learning, imparting to all who came to her schools, knowledge and truth. Ireland can assert what no other existing Kingdom or State can say, that her history is lost in the mazes of antiquity, and that her era of barbarism belongs to pre-historic times.”

In relation to misrule in Ireland—"it was not probably borne in mind that as England is inhabited by Englishmen, and Scotland by Scotchmen, so Ireland is inhabited by Irishmen."

Lord John Russell

CHAPTER II

ADRIAN'S BULL TO HENRY II.—ITS TRUE HISTORY

AT the beginning of an investigation relating to England's first connection with Ireland, we are confronted with the evidence that her claim of sovereignty and right to associate herself in any manner with the affairs of the Irish people was based upon falsehood and probable forgery.

England's only title to Irish territory rests upon a grant claimed to have been given to Henry II. by Pope Adrian IV., under pretext of improving the religious status in the latter country.

The literature on this subject is voluminous and cannot be condensed into reasonable limits, if an attempt be made to show that this claimed Papal Bull was a forgery.

The Abbé MacGeoghegan, driven out of Ireland as a youth, became a prominent ecclesiastic in Paris where, among other duties, he served as chaplain to the famous Irish brigade in the service of the French Government.

Early in the eighteenth century this clergyman wrote a history of Ireland, which was based upon an intimate knowledge of the subject. And to fit him the better for the work he evidently made extensive research to elucidate many obscure points to which sufficient attention by others had not been previously given. The Abbé seems to have realized that England's title should be established beyond question, since the right to hold is necessary to justify possession. The writer has found no other author who investigated this subject to the same extent nor any one else

who has given his views in a more condensed form. Until the comparatively recent publication of the translation of this work from the French, it was little known as an authority to the English reader.

He writes ¹:

“ It is said that in this reign, in the year 1155, Pope Adrian IV. issued the celebrated bull, by which this pontiff transferred the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry the Second, King of England. The tenor of it is here given, in order that an opinion may be formed of it.

“ ‘ Adrian, bishop and servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, greeting health and apostolical benediction.

“ ‘ Thy greatness, as is becoming a Catholic prince, is laudable and successfully employed in thought and intention, to propagate a glorious name upon earth, and lay by in heaven the rewards of a happy eternity, by extending the boundaries of the church, and making known to nations which are uninstructed, and still ignorant of the Christian faith, its truth and doctrine, by rooting up the seeds of vice from the land of the Lord; and to perform this more efficaciously, thou seekest the counsel and protection of the apostolical see, in which undertaking, the more exalted thy designs will be, united with prudence, the more propitious, we trust, will be thy progress under a benign Providence, since a happy issue and end are always the result of what has been undertaken from an ardor of faith, and love of religion.

“ ‘ It is not, indeed, to be doubted, that the Kingdom of Ireland, and every island upon which Christ the Sun of Justice hath shone, and which has received the principles of the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter, and to the holy Roman Church, (which thy majesty likewise admits,) from whence we the more fully implant in them the seed of faith, that seed which is acceptable to God, and to which we, after a minute investigation, consider that a conformity should be required by us the more rigidly. Thou, dearest son in Christ, hast likewise signified to us, that for the purpose of subjecting the people of Ireland to laws, and eradicating vice from among them, thou art desirous of entering

¹ MacGeoghegan, etc., p. 246.

that island; and also of paying for each house an annual tribute of one penny to St. Peter; and of preserving the privileges of its churches pure and undefiled. We, therefore, with approving and favorable views commend thy pious and laudable desire, and to aid thy undertaking, we give to thy petition our grateful and willing consent, that for the extending the boundaries of the church, the restraining the prevalence of vice, the improvement of morals, the implanting of virtue, and propagation of the Christian religion, thou enter that island, and pursue those things which shall tend to the honor of God, and salvation of His people, and that they may receive thee with honor, and revere thee as their lord; the privilege of their churches continuing pure and unrestrained, and the annual tribute of one penny from each house remaining secure to St. Peter, and the Holy Roman Church. If thou therefore deem what thou hast projected in mind, possible to be completed, study to instill good morals into that people, and act so that thou thyself, and such persons as thou judge competent from their faith, words and actions to be instrumental in advancing the honor of the Irish Church, propagate and promote religion and the faith of Christ, to advance thereby the honor of God, and salvation of souls, that thou mayest merit an everlasting reward of happiness hereafter, and establish on earth a name of glory, which shall last for ages to come. Given at Rome, &c. &c. &c.'

“The above was an edict pronounced against Ireland, by which the rights of men and the most sacred laws are violated, under the specious pretext of religion and the reformation of morals.¹ The Irish were no longer to possess a country. That people, who had never bent under a foreign yoke, ‘nunquam externæ subjacuit ditioni,’ were condemned to lose their liberty, without even being heard.² But can the Vicar of Jesus Christ be accused of so glaring an act of injustice? Can he be thought capable of having dictated a bull which overthrew an entire nation, which dispossessed so many ancient proprietors of their patrimonies, caused so much blood to be shed, and at length tended to the destruction of religion in the island? It is a thing not to be conceived.

¹ *Cambrens. Evers.*, cap. 22.

² Nubrigius, *De Rebus Anglic.*, lib. ii., cap. 16.

Was the Bull of Pope Adrian Authentic? 59

“ In truth, were we to consider the circumstances and motives of the bull, it has all the appearance of a fictitious one, under the borrowed name of Adrian IV.¹ Baronius quotes it, without giving any date of year or day, which would make it appear suspicious; *it remained unpublished for seventeen years*; it is said that it was fabricated in 1155, and not made public till 1172, which Nicholas Trivet ascribes to the opposition it met with from Henry's mother. He adds, that the King having assembled his parliament at Winton, about the festival of St. Michael, proposed the conquest of Ireland to his lords; but that as it was displeasing to the Empress his mother, he deferred the execution of it to another period.²

“ The bull gains but little authentication from the authority of John of Salisbury, afterwards bishop of Chartres, in his treatise ‘*de nugis curialibus*.’ This writer is made to say, at the end of the last chapter of his fourth book, that: ‘Pope Adrian had granted Ireland to King Henry, at his request, it being the patrimony of his holiness by hereditary right, inasmuch as all the islands belong to the Roman Church by the concession of the Emperor Constantine the Great.’ But this nonsense is considered by the learned as having been added to the chapter by a strange hand; since the author in speaking particularly in the sixth and eighth books, of his visit to the holy father at Benevento, where he remained with him for three months, states most minutely the various conversations which he had with his holiness, without making any mention of the bull in question, though it was a matter of particular importance; and that was naturally the fit time to have mentioned it. Pierre de Blois, a zealous panegyrist of this prelate, who published his praises in various epistles makes no mention of it either.

“ It is well known that King Henry, who found creatures sufficiently devoted to him to revenge his quarrel with the holy prelate of Canterbury, did not want for venal writers to add to and retrench from, the writings of the times, in order to give an appearance of authenticity to a document so necessary for the justification of his conduct. Besides, it appears that Salisbury had gone to Italy of his own accord, and through curiosity, to visit

¹ *Propug. Cathol. Verit.*, lib. v., cap. 17.

² *Usser, Epist. Hib. Syllog.*, Epist. 46.

his countryman Adrian and not with any commission from the King of England; while the bull, according to Mathew of Westminster, was obtained by a solemn embassy, which Henry had sent to the Pope. In my opinion, however, this circumstance appears to be another fable added to the former; as he is the first who mentions this embassy, and that two centuries afterwards. The silence, too, of Nubrigensis, an English cotemporary author, respecting this embassy and the bull which it is affirmed was granted, is an argument which though negative, deserves some attention. This author, who was so zealous for the glory of Henry the Second, and his nation, commences his narrative by saying that the English had entered Ireland in a warlike manner, and that, their forces increasing every day, they subjugated a considerable part of it.¹ He makes no mention of a bull granted by any Pope; and I consider it highly improbable that he would have forgotten to speak of a circumstance so necessary to give an appearance of justice to the unprecedented conduct of his nation. However this be, it may be affirmed that no Pope, either before or after Adrian IV., ever punished a nation so severely without cause. We have seen instances of Popes making use of their spiritual authority in opposition to crowned heads; we have known them to excommunicate emperors and kings, and place their states under an interdict, for crimes of heresy, or other causes; but we here behold innocent Ireland given up to tyrants, without having been summoned before any tribunal, or convicted of any crime.

If we consider the bull as the work of Adrian IV., it opens to our consideration two very important matters. The first is the real or supposed right of the popes to dispose of crowns and kingdoms; the second regards the reason why the bull was granted, that is, the true or false statement which Henry had made to the pope, of the real state of religion in Ireland, on which the concession of the bull is founded. In the former we do not call in question the spiritual power of St. Peter's successor; he is acknowledged by every Catholic Christian as the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, and the visible head of His

¹ "At that time the English made a descent upon Ireland in a warlike manner, and their numbers having increased, they became masters of no inconsiderable portion of it by force of arms."—Nubrigius, *De Rebus Anglic.*, b. iii., c. 26.

church; it is only necessary to know whether his power extends equally over spiritual and temporal matters; or rather to speak in accordance with the schools, whether he received a two-fold power from God. I shall enter into no argument on this subject, which belongs more properly to theology than history, and which has already been so frequently discussed. The digression would be of no value to my object, particularly as the bull only mentions islands; though I see no reason why an island or a kingdom in the ocean should belong to the holy see, as affirmed in the bull, any more than the kingdoms of the continent, unless it be advanced that he holds the sovereignty of all the islands from the liberality of the emperor Constantine the Great; to which I answer that Ireland, which had never obeyed the Romans, could not be of that number¹; consequently this claim on Ireland is unfounded, and therefore the concession was unjust. It might more reasonably be made with reference to Great Britain, which was under the dominion of the Romans both before and after the reign of Constantine, yet the Kings of England have never understood to hold their sovereignty from the holy see. . . .

“Adrian IV. was elected on the 3d of December 1154 and held the holy see for four years, eight months, and twenty-nine days; he therefore died 1st September, 1159. According to the most correct authors of both nations, the first English adventurer who landed in Ireland, under the title of ally of the King of Leinster, was Robert Fitz-Stephen. His arrival in the island is fixed in the year 1169. Some time afterwards he was followed by Richard of Chepstow, and in 1172 by Henry the Second. We should therefore place this supposed address of the clergy and people of Ireland to Adrian IV., at least twelve years after the death of that pope, which does not agree with the calculations of Sanderus.”

Lingard states²:

“It was during this period when his authority in Ireland was

¹ “The Irish nation, from the first period of their arrival and from the reign of the first Heremon to the times of Gurmundis and Jugesius (when her peace was disturbed), and again from their death to our own times—continued free and undisturbed by any foreign nation.”—G. Cambrensis, *Topography of Ireland*, cap. 31.

² *History of England*, etc., by John Lingard, D.D., London, 1849, vol. ii., p. 185.

nearly annihilated, that Henry bethought him of the letter which he had formerly procured from Pope Adrian. It had been forgotten during almost twenty years; now it was drawn from obscurity, was intrusted to William Fitz-Aldhelm and Nicholas, Prior of Wallingford, and was read by them with much solemnity to a synod of Irish bishops. How far it served to convince these prelates that the King was the rightful sovereign of the island, we are left to conjecture. . . .”

Lingard offers no explanation for the invasion of Ireland and the supposition that it was for conquest is the only tenable one. Nor does he give any authority for the assertion that Henry had during nearly twenty years forgotten the existence of Adrian's Bull nor could there be any explanation for the omission to present, if it existed, so important a justification, on the first landing of the English in Ireland. But he undertakes to show that the Irish, “like the ancestors of their neighbours, were in former ages far removed from the habits and decencies of civilized life.”

We again resume the statement of the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan:

“I here subjoin another bull, which English authors mention to have been given by Alexander the Third, confirming that of Adrian, and apparently of the same fabric.

“ ‘ Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, health and apostolic benediction.

“ ‘ For as much as those things which are known to have been reasonably granted by our predecessors, deserve to be confirmed in lasting stability, we, adhering to the footsteps of Pope Adrian, and regarding the result of our gift to you, (the annual tax of one penny from each house being secured to St. Peter and the holy Roman church) confirm and ratify the same, considering that its impurities being cleansed, that barbarous nation which bears the name of Christian, may by your grace, assume the comeliness of morality, and that a system of discipline being introduced into her heretofore unregulated church, she may, through you, effectually attain with the name the benefits of Christianity.’ ”

“Were we to compare this bull and the preceding one with the treatise on ‘Ireland conquered,’ composed at the same time by Giraldus Cambrensis, we would discover great similarity of style between them; and if they are not by the same writer, they appear at least to have been composed to maintain each other mutually, and thereby acquire a degree of credit among the public.

“The bull of Alexander the Third, must appear a paradox to all those who strictly investigate the morals of Henry, and his behavior to the court of Rome. A bad christian makes a bad apostle.

“What was Henry the Second? A man who in private life forgot the essential duties of religion, and frequently those of nature; a superstitious man, who under the veil of religion, joined the most holy practices to the most flagrant vices; regardless of his word, when to promote his own interest, he broke the most solemn treaties with the King of France; he considered principle as nothing, when the sacrifice of it promised to produce him a benefit. It is well known, that without any scruple, he married Eleanor of Aquitaine, so famous for her debaucheries, and branded by her divorce from Louis the Seventh. He ungratefully confined this very woman in chains, though she had brought him one-fourth of France as her marriage portion. He was a bad father, quarrelled with all his children, and became engaged in wars on every side.¹

“As a king he tyrannized over his nobles and took pleasure in confounding all their privileges; like his predecessors, he was the sworn enemy of the popes; he attacked their rights, persecuted their adherents, sent back their legates with contempt, encroached upon the privileges and immunities of the church, and gloried in supporting the most unjust usurpers of them; which led to the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Again his debaucheries are admitted by every historian.² No one is ignorant that he went so far as to seduce the young Alix, who had been betrothed to his son Richard, and that all the misfortunes which filled the latter part of his life with affliction, were caused by this passion, as obstinate as it was criminal and base. Behold the apostle, the

¹ Baker, *Chron. of England*, “Life of Henry the Second.”

² Harpsfield, *sæculo xii.*, cap. 15.

reformer, whom the holy see would have chosen to convert Ireland. The witnesses we bring forth are not to be suspected. Cambrensis himself, whose opinions I have elsewhere refuted, is the first to acknowledge the irregularities of Henry the Second. He who knew him so well and who was his friend and favorite, thus speaks of his morals.¹

“It cannot be supposed that his conduct towards Alexander the Third would have induced him as pope to grant the bull attributed to him. In 1150, Henry promised obedience to Octavianus, the anti-pope, and in 1166, to Guido, his successor. Roger Hoveden, an English cotemporary writer, says, that in 1164 he pronounced a harsh and wicked edict against Pope Alexander, ‘Henricus rex fecit grave edictum, et execrabile, contra Alexandrum papam,’ &c. In that same year he enacted laws, by which it was forbidden, under heavy penalties, to obey the sovereign pontiff or his censures; which gave rise to the complaints made by the pope of him in a letter which he wrote to Roger, the archbishop.²

“It is mentioned by Barontius, that in the same year, Henry had caused troubles capable of overthrowing not only the primate of Canterbury and the whole English church, but even the holy Catholic Church and its prelate Alexander, for whom, in particular, he had laid his snares.³

¹ *Hibernia Expugnata*, b. i., c. 45. “He was less given to devotion than to hunting; was an open violator of the marriage contract; a ready breaker of his promise in most things; for whenever he got into difficulties he preferred to repent rather of his word than of his deed, considering it more easy to nullify the former than the latter. He was an oppressor of the nobility; daringly audacious in his usurpations of sacred things, and in his desire to monopolize the administration of justice; he united the laws of his realm with those of the church, or rather confounded them together; and converted to the purpose of the state the revenues of the vacant churches.”

² “When the King should attend to reforming the abuses of his predecessors, he himself adds injustice to injustice and establishes and confirms, under sanction of the royal authority, equally unjust institutions; under which the liberty of the church perishes, and the regulations of apostolical men are, so far as it lies in his power, deprived of their efficacy. The King himself, trifling with our forbearance by the subtle acts of his ambassadors, seems to have so far hardened his mind to our admonitions, that he will not be reconciled to the archbishop,” etc.—Hoveden, *Annales*, pp. 518, 519, cited Grat. Luc., c. 23.

³ “Henry raised the waters to overwhelm not only the bishop of Canterbury, together with the whole English Church, but the entire of the holy

“ Westmonasteriensis says that in 1168 he sent an ambassador to the emperor Frederick, proposing to second him in deposing pope Alexander, who had become his adversary by encouraging the opposition of Thomas à Becket. He adds that he made his English subjects, both young and old, adjure their obedience to the pope.¹ In fine, he was so disrespectful to the holy see, that he dismissed, with contempt, the cardinals which the pope had sent to him in 1169.

“ These bulls have, in fact, all the appearance of forgery. They are not to be met with in any collection. It appears, also, that Henry the Second, considered them so insufficient to strengthen his dominion in Ireland, that he solicited Pope Lucius the Third, who succeeded Alexander, to confirm them; but that pope was too just to authorize his usurpation, and paid no regard to a considerable sum of money which the king sent to him.²

“ The misunderstanding between the sovereign pontiff and the King of England was carried to the highest pitch by the martyrdom of the archbishop of Canterbury, which happened in 1171. Strong suspicions were entertained of the prince having contributed to that barbarous deed. He saw the storm ready to burst upon him and being desirous to avert the blow he sent ambassadors to Rome, who were badly received. The pope refused to see or hear them, and all that could be obtained from his holiness was, to use the general terms of abettors, actors, and accomplices, in the excommunication he pronounced on that occasion, without naming Henry.³

Catholic Church, together with its pastor Alexander; against him in particular he directed his machinations.”

¹ “ King Henry, whose anger was changed into hatred of the blessed Thomas, and of the pope, in consequence of his having espoused the cause of the former, sent to the emperor Frederick, requesting him to co-operate in removing Alexander from the popedom because he had made himself obnoxious to Henry by aiding the fugitive and traitorous Thomas, who had been the archbishop of Canterbury for some time; he caused the obedience due in England to the pope to be abjured by all, from the boy of twelve years of age to the aged men.”—*West. Flor. Hist.*, 1168.

² *Cambrensis Eversus*, cap. 24.

³ “ The pope refused either to see or hear the ambassadors whom Henry had sent to exculpate himself from the murder of Thomas of Canterbury; but the Roman Court cried out, ‘Desist, desist,’ as if it were impious for the pope to hear the name of Henry who had sent them. By the general advice of the

“Such was the state of affairs between Alexander the Third, and Henry the Second, who never ceased annoying the pope, from the time of his elevation to the holy see, in 1159 to 1172, the date of the bull. Every year he was guilty of some new act, as dishonoring to the pope as it was injurious to the interests of the church. The massacre of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which happened in the year above mentioned, alarmed all Europe and angered the pope to such a degree against Henry, that he was on the point of making use of the spiritual weapons of the church against him. Can we believe, that under these circumstances, the pope would have publicly loaded the man with benefits, whom he had tacitly excommunicated? It is quite impossible to imagine, that in order to bring a foreign people back to their obedience to the holy see, his holiness would have committed the undertaking to a prince who had already banished that obedience from his own States.

“In order to judge of the motives upon which the bulls of Adrian the Fourth and Alexander the Third were founded, the state of the church of Ireland, at this time, should be examined into.”

After considering at great length the condition of affairs in Ireland the author shows conclusively that there was no foundation for the one claimed to exist by the English.

He states:

“During this interval of time, Ireland produced prelates of the highest celebrity for their virtues and doctrine, who would have been an ornament to the most flourishing churches in Europe. . . .

“After all I have said on the state of religion in Ireland during the hundred and fifty years which immediately preceded the reign of Henry the Second; of the several councils which had been convened for the regulation of morals and the re-establishment of discipline &c. . . . can it be supposed that the degeneracy of morals and religion was so general and inveterate as is represented in the bulls of Adrian and Alexander? People who rationally weigh the whole will not be such dupes as to believe them.”

council, the pope dispensed with expressly mentioning the name of the King and the country beyond the sea; but the sentence of the interdict was maintained, and that against the bishops confirmed.”—Hoveden, p. 526.

“The greater part of those who went to Ireland, under Henry II., to reform the morals of the Irish, were the descendants of the Normans who had accompanied William the Conqueror into England. Their sojourn in France had been too short to have enabled them to divest themselves completely of the barbarous manners of their ancestors, and assume those of the polished people of that country; and their removal to England did not tend to diminish their ferocity. . . . Such, however, were the doctors whom Henry the Second sent to Ireland, by apostolical authority, as it is pretended, to re-establish religion, and correct the morals of the people; but their conduct was more calculated to shake the true believers, than confirm them in the christian religion. They made the Irish pay dearly for their pretended mission, and taught them the English language to their cost. Experience itself proves the futility of this pretended reformation. The first adventurers who came from England into Ireland, were people who held nothing sacred; but their children, more happy than their fathers, having been civilized by their intercourse with the natives of the latter country, whose manners they assumed, lost altogether that ferocity of disposition *which is, even to this day, the attribute of the inhabitants of Great Britain.* . . . It is easy to discover the spring which the Englishman put in motion on this occasion. The supposed reformation of the morals of the Irish was but a pretext which he made use of to usurp the crown of Ireland. . . .

“Nothing but a war founded on just grounds, that is, on some injury from those we intend to reduce, can render a conquest lawful. At the time we speak of, there was no war between England and the Irish; and if the King of Leinster brought over the former to assist him in recovering his crown, he rewarded them amply. He could give them no right over the other provinces, not possessing any over them himself.”

Lanigan¹ treats of the subject as follows:

“Henry the Second, who became King of England about the same time that Adrian was placed on the chair of St. Peter, on

¹ *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, etc.*, by the Rev. John Lanigan, D.D., Dublin, 1882, vol. iv., pp. 158, 164-166.

being informed of his promotion wrote to him a complimentary letter of congratulation and having thus opened the way for obtaining favors, applied to him in the year 1115 by means of John of Salisbury then Chaplain to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, for a really important one. John, addressed the Pope, in the King's name asked him for permission for his master to take possession of Ireland for the purpose of extending the boundaries of the church, of announcing to unlearned and rude people the truth of the Christian faith and extirpating the weeds of vices from the fields of the Lord. What an apostolical and exemplary sovereign was Henry Plantagenet! It is strange that the pope could have listened to such stuff, while he knew, that Pollimus had been sent, only three or four years before that time to Ireland by his patron and benefactor, the good Pope Eugenius the Third and must have been informed by Cardinal Papars, who was, as St. Bernard states, a very worthy man, that many good regulations had been made; that there were excellent bishops in this country such as Gelarius of Armagh and Christian of Lismore, and that the Irish church was not then in so degenerate a state as to require the intervention or the pious exertions of such a King as Henry.

“Adrian's bull is of so unwarrantable and unjustifiable a nature, that some writers could not bring themselves to believe that he issued it, and have endeavored to prove it a forgery; but their efforts were of no avail, and never did there exist a more real or authentic document.”

Dr. Lanigan follows this paragraph in the text with the following note:

“Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) greatly exerted himself (*Cambr. Evers. cap. 22*) in striving to show that the Bull is spurious, and Mac-Geoghegan should fain make us believe the same thing. It has not indeed been published in the Bullarium Romanum, *the editors of which were ashamed of it*. But there was a copy of it in the Vatican as is clear from its being referred to by Pope John XXII in his Brief to Edward the Second of England written in 1319. . . . In the said Brief the Pope not only refers to Adrian's Bull or letter by name, but says that he joins to the

Brief a copy of it for the King. . . . Adrian's grant of Ireland to Henry is expressly mentioned and confirmed by Pope Alexander the Third in his letter to him of the year 1172. Giraldus Cambrensis (*De Rebus a Segestis*, part ii., cap. 11, and *Hiberni. Expugn*, l. ii., c. 6) Mathew Paris (*Historia Major*, &c. ad A. 1155) and others give not only an account of said Bull, but the Bull itself; and Usher states (*Sylloge*, not. on No. 46) that he saw copies of it in the registers of the diocese of Dublin and Lismore. What has been now said is surely more than enough to set aside the doubts of Lynch or of any other writer."

Dr. Lanigan's opinion and acceptance of the Adrian bull, as being authentic, should under ordinary circumstances not be questioned, as there has existed no higher authority on all subjects connected with the early ecclesiastical history of Ireland. He has evinced a profound knowledge of the subject in his work but in reference to this point he has not shown his usual skill in the weighing of evidence. Doubtless many copies exist of the so-termed Bull of Adrian but there is nothing to prove that the common source was genuine. The reason given by him, that the editors were ashamed of the Bull and consequently did not publish it in the official record, is absurd. Their only purpose was to publish the State Papers on record in Rome and under the circumstances it cannot be supposed that any discrimination would have been exercised. The mention made by Alexander of Adrian's action and his sending a copy of the Bull to Henry, which Lanigan accepts as a positive proof, proves nothing towards disproving forgery if an official record and copy of this particular State paper does not exist and, as Lynch claims, is wanting among the Roman Bullarium. There doubtless is on file in the Vatican a copy of what Henry II. claimed to be a Bull from Adrian IV. but the circumstance carries no more proof than does the existence of a similar copy in the Dublin and Lismore registers.

The reader should bear in mind that Henry II. was a most disreputable character and no testimony has been presented from any source which would in any respect mili-

tate in his favor. Had there existed in Ireland even a worse condition than, it is held, Henry represented to the Pope, the common conclusion must be reached by all, without reference to religious bias or prejudice, that Henry could never have been selected under the circumstances by Adrian for such a mission, if it be admitted that there existed on the part of the Pope a desire to benefit the Irish people.

That Henry was a trickster and a consummate liar both friend and foe agree. Lingard, who accepts the authenticity of the Adrian Bull without question, with all his prejudices in favor of his countrymen, the King and the Pope, makes the following acknowledgment¹:

“No one could believe his assertions or trust his promises”; and this author in a note gives the following references:

“Girald. Camb. 783. Cardinal Vivian, after a long conversation with Henry, said: ‘Never did I witness this man’s equal in lying’—Ep. S. Thom., iii., 60. The King of France declared to Henry’s ambassadors, that their master was so full of fraud and deceit, so regardless of his word and covenant, that it was impossible to put faith in him. Armul. ep. lxxvii.”

Were we destitute of all other evidence, beyond a knowledge of Henry’s character and special unfitness for the purpose, we would be justified in claiming the so-called Bull of Adrian to be a forgery, perpetrated through the influence of Henry II.

The facts thus established go to show that even the existence of this alleged Papal Bull was not made known *until at least seventeen years had elapsed* after the time it was said to have been executed. At this time the Pope, as well as all those about him who would have known the facts, had been dead a number of years.

The original document does not exist nor is there record anywhere showing that its existence was ever personally known to any cotemporary witness save those who were the

¹ Lingard, p. 106.

interested parties. It is claimed that among the archives of Rome, where so important a State Paper would be recorded had it been issued, there is no reference to it, in its proper place and order, and this fact alone, if true, should be sufficient to establish the forgery.

It is proved beyond question then that there was no need for Henry's assistance in the reformation of the Irish morals but that the Irish were at that time far more observant of their religious duties than the English. It is not possible, with the church discipline which had existed for centuries previous to this date and which it is well known was observed in Ireland, that the Pope could have been in ignorance of these facts. Moreover, his action, without investigation, under any circumstances would have been contrary to custom. With the knowledge we possess, it does not seem possible that Henry II. would have been selected under any circumstances for reforming the alleged laxity of morals and religious observances among the Irish people, *as he had always defied the Pope's authority* and was himself so indifferent to the exercise of every religious obligation.

So much for conjecture. Since the issue of the first edition of this work, Prof. Oliver G. Thatcher of the University of Chicago has fully exhausted this subject by his researches among the archives of the Vatican and elsewhere, and all the original documents bearing on the subject have been collected together in a recent work,¹ from which the following extracts are taken :

“ Henry the Second got possession of Ireland *vi et armis*, and not as a brief but as an absolute possession. Neither Adrian nor Adrian's offer, as recorded by John of Salisbury, can in any way be made responsible for Henry's seizure of Ireland. And after he had taken forcible possession of it he tried, but without success, to persuade three successive popes to acknowledge the absolute character of his title to it. . . .

“ The argument thus far advanced forces upon us the conclusion

¹ *Studies Concerning Adrian IV.*, from the Decennial Publication of the University of Chicago, 1904, vol. iv.

that *Laudabiliter* is not genuine. . . . For this famous document is neither a genuine letter of Adrian IV., nor a forgery in the true sense of the word. It was not written with the purpose of deceiving or of securing any material advantage. The following arguments will, I hope, make it probable, if not absolutely certain, that it is merely a Latin exercise of some twelfth century student who was practicing himself in the art of letter-writing, and for this purpose chose to impersonate Adrian IV. It is well known that the composition of such imaginary correspondence formed a part of the training of students in the Middle Ages. To this conclusion we are led by a study of the style and phraseology of the letter. Its poverty of vocabulary, its numerous and awkward repetitions, its general haziness and indefiniteness, all reveal the untrained and uncertain hand of a student who is master neither of his materials nor of the proper literary forms. . . . We know also that this student had before him a genuine letter of Adrian IV., from which he borrowed several sentences, adapted them badly and in an awkward way, to answer his purpose, etc. . . . In order to show how he utilized it in the composition of *Laudabiliter*, I quote the following extracts from the Pope's letter to Louis VII., etc."

On the evidence presented little doubt can remain as to the correctness of Professor Thatcher's views. The original in Latin of the alleged text of Adrian's bull, or of *Laudabiliter*, as it is generally termed, was first published by Giraldus Cambrensis, or Girald Barry, in his *De Expugnatione Hiberniæ*, which is said to have been written about 1188, the author having accompanied Henry the Second on his expedition to Ireland. Giraldus was evidently a friend of Henry and a bitter enemy of the Irish people.

No large portion of the Irish people ever recognized the authority of Henry II., save under duress, nor have the majority since acknowledged that of the English Government from the time of Henry VIII. to the present day, save under protest and by force.

The Archbishop of Dublin and a few other persons, who were equally unauthorized to act for the Irish people at large, finally signed what was termed the treaty of Windsor,

as a tributary acknowledgment of Henry II. But for some four hundred years after this time English authority was confined entirely to the Pale, as it was termed, a limited tract of country extending from Dublin to the southwest, which had been seized and settled by the English. Beyond this country the right of the English Crown was but an empty title. But the whole island was kept in a constant state of turmoil from the attacks of the English in their quest of plunder and land-grabbing.

This condition of unrest had existed for over one hundred years after the reign of Henry II., when the Irish chiefs decided to make Edward Bruce, brother of Robert of Scotland, who was of their race, King of Ireland. O'Neill, King of Ulster, in their name addressed, during the reign of Edward II., a voluminous and bitterly expressed remonstrance to Pope John XXII., as an appeal to the then-considered highest authority.¹

Some extracts from this document as taken from Plowden's history are given in the Appendix to show the unhappy condition of Ireland which then existed and which was destined to remain unchanged even to the present day.

Edward Bruce was at first successful against the English in maintaining his right to the Irish Crown but on the 10th of August, 1315, in the battle of Athunree, the Irish Army was defeated with great slaughter; Bruce lost his life with over ten thousand of his followers, after a struggle of over twelve hours in duration, and for a time all opposition to the English, by force of arms, was literally crushed out.

¹ *An Historical Review*, etc., by Francis Plowden, Phila., 1805, vol. i., Appendix, p. 4. The Abbé MacGeoghegan also gives some extracts seemingly from the same document, which he credits to the Scotie chronicle of John Fardam but they must either be a very free translation or they were taken from an accompanying letter to the Sovereign Pontiff by Donald O'Neill, who wrote the original document and possibly in a more general manner reiterated in a letter the causes of complaint. This document is given in full by Plowden, and see Appendix Note 3 in First Edition.

"Nothing can make us believe that it is natural or honorable for the Irish to speak the speech of the alien, the invader, the Sassanach tyrant, and to abandon the language of kings and heroes."

Thomas Davis

CHAPTER III

THE CLAN SYSTEM—IRELAND NEVER ACCEPTED ENGLISH AUTHORITY—BEGINNING OF LAND CONFISCATION ON THE PLEA OF REBELLION—GREAT SUFFERING—ATTEMPT TO EXTERMINATE THE CATHOLICS—THE "CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY"

LONG after the first English invasion the lands of Ireland continued to be held under the Clan system, by which each individual was a co-proprietor and each tribe was governed by its own chief.

England early realized the advantage to be gained by exciting constant warfare between the different tribes, as her assistance was thus eventually sought by one side or the other. The result was an opportunity or pretext afforded for seizing the land of both parties, without regard to the vested rights of the individual members, all of whom were ultimately either driven out or put to the sword.

Religious persecution had no part in the contest between the English and Irish people until the latter portion of the sixteenth century. Gain of territory was the chief incentive and, until the reign of Charles I., in every contest the Catholic Irish were divided in sentiment and some portion of them served as English allies. Henry VIII. was the first English sovereign who made a systematic effort to bring the whole of Ireland under English rule and by open warfare he was successful to a great degree. His chief purpose was to reduce the Irish rulers to a recognition of his right of sovereignty and he deprived very few of their local authority. Notwith-

standing he was declared King of Ireland it was a fiction, in so far that whole districts had never recognized English authority or come in conflict with it. Hence the subsequent injustice of punishing these people as being guilty of treason by putting them to the sword and by confiscating their land.

The conditions which developed after the death of Henry VIII. cannot be described in fewer words than in the following from Lecky's work; the authorities cited by him have been carefully compared by the writer with the originals.¹

He writes²:

“The system was begun on a large scale in Leinster in the reign of Mary, when the immense territories belonging to the O'Mores, the O'Connors, and the O'Dempseys were confiscated, planted with English colonies and converted into two English counties. The names of the Queen's County and the King's County, with their capitals, Maryborough and Philipstown, are among the very few existing memorials of a reign which Englishmen would gladly forget. The confiscation, being carried out without any regard for the rights of the humbler members of the tribes, gave rise, as might have been expected, to a long and bloody guerilla warfare between the new tenants and the old proprietors, which extended far into the reign of Elizabeth and is especially famous in Irish memories for the treacherous murder by the new settlers of the Irish chiefs, who were said to have been invited with that object to a peaceful conference at Mulloghamast.”³

Curry writes⁴:

“In the same year, an horrible massacre was committed by the English at Mulloghmaston, on some hundreds of the most

¹ Mr. Lecky cannot be charged with being an Irish sympathizer but, for a representative in Parliament from Trinity College, Dublin, he is unusually fair to the Irish people throughout his work.

² *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, by W. E. H. Lecky, New York, 1893, vol. i., p. 18.

³ See also Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors*, pp. 11, 130, 131.

⁴ *An Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, etc., J. C. [John Curry, M.D.], Dublin, 1775, p. 6 and note.

peaceable of the Irish gentry, invited thither on the public faith, and under the protection of the government. . . . The fact is thus literally translated from the Irish annals of Queen Elizabeth's reign:—'The Calendar of January, on Tuesday, 1577. In this year the English of Leinster and Meath committed horrid murders on such of the O'Mores and O'Connors, and others of the King's and Queen's county as kept the peace, sued for protection, and held no correspondence with those of their kindred, who still stood out in arms against the English government.

“ ‘The English published a proclamation, inviting all the well-affected Irish to an interview on the Rathmore, at Mulloghmas-ton; engaging, at the same time, for their security, and that no evil was intended. In consequence of this engagement, the well-affected came to the Rathmore aforesaid, and soon after they were assembled, they found themselves surrounded by three or four lines of English and Irish horse and foot, completely accoutred, by whom they were ungenerously attacked and cut to pieces; and not a single man escaped.’ ”

Curry continues:

“ To this massacre, the Memorialist before mentioned, probably alluded, when he complained, ‘That her Majesty's servants, who were placed in authority, to protect men for her service, had drawn unto them, by such protection, three or four hundred of the Irish, under colour to serve her Majesty; and brought them to a place of meeting, where her garrison-soldiers were appointed to be; who then, most dishonourably, put them all to the sword. This adds he, was done by the consent, and practice, of the Lord Deputy for the time being.’ ”

Leland justly states¹:

“Such relations would be more suspicious, if these annals in general expressed great virulence against the English and their government. But they do not appear to differ essentially from the printed histories, except in the minuteness with which they record the local transactions and adventures of the Irish &c.”

¹ *The History of Ireland*, etc., Thos. Leland, D.D., Dublin, 1773, vol. ii., p. 258, note.

In this connection we find in the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* for the year 1574¹:

“Peace, sociality and friendship, were established between Brian, the Son of Felin Bacach O’Neil and the Earl of Essex; and a feast was afterwards prepared by Brian, to which the Lord Justice and the Chiefs of his people were invited; and they passed three nights and days together pleasantly and cheerfully.

“At the expiration of this time, however, as they were agreeably drinking and making merry, Brian, his brother and his wife, were seized upon by the Earl, and all his people put unsparingly to the sword,² men, women, youths and maidens in Brian’s own presence. Brian was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother, where they were cut in quarters. Such was the end of their feast. This unexpected massacre, this wicked and treacherous murder of the Lord of the race of Hugh Boy O’Neil, the Head and the senior of the race of Eoghan, Son of Niall of the Nine Hostages and of all the Gaels, a few only excepted, was a sufficient cause of hatred and disgust (of the English) to the Irish.”

We resume the description quoted from Lecky’s history³:

“In Munster, after Desmond’s rebellion, more than 574,000 acres were confiscated and passed into English hands. One of the conditions of the grants was that none of the native Irish should be permitted among the tenantry of the new proprietors. It was intended to sweep those who had survived the war completely from the whole of this enormous territory, &c.

“The suppression of the native race, in the wars against Shane O’Neil, Desmond and Tyrone, was carried on with a ferocity which surpassed that of Alva in the Netherlands, and has seldom been exceeded in the page of history. Thus a deliberate attempt was made by a servant of the British government to assassinate

¹ O’Donovan’s translation, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, etc., second edition, Dublin, 1856, vol. v., p. 1677.

² Camden in his *Annals*, A.D. 1574, states that Essex slew two hundred of the Irish and took Brian, Rory Oge, his brother and Brian’s wife.

³ Lecky, vol. i., pp. 5, 6, 18; see also Leland, *History of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 257.

in time of peace the great Irish leader, Shane O'Neil, by a present of poisoned wine; and although the attempt failed and the assassin was detected and arrested, *he was at once liberated by the Government.* Essex accepted the hospitality of Sir Brian O'Neil. After a banquet, when the Irish Chief had retired unsuspectingly to rest, the English general surrounded the house with soldiers, captured his host with his wife and brother, sent them to Dublin for execution, and massacred the whole body of his friends and retainers. An English officer, a friend of the Viceroy, invited seventeen Irish gentlemen to supper, and when they rose from the table had them all stabbed. A Catholic archbishop, named Hurley, fell into the hands of the English authorities, and before they sent him to the gallows they tortured him to extort confession of treason by one of the most horrible torments human nature can endure—by roasting his feet with fire.

“The war, as conducted by Carew, by Gilbert, by Pelham and by Mountjoy, was literally a war of extermination. The slaughter of Irishmen was looked upon as literally the slaughter of wild beasts. Not only the men but even the women and children who fell into the hands of the English, were deliberately and systematically butchered.’ . . . The pictures of the condition of Ireland at this time are as terrible as anything in human history. Thus Spenser, describing what he had seen in Munster, tells how, ‘out of every corner of the woods and glens, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrion, happy when they could find them; yea, and one and another soon after, inasmuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves.’²

“The land itself, which before these wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God—being plenteous of corn, full of cattle, well stored with fish and other good commodities—is now become . . . so barren, both of men and beast, that whoever did travel from the one end of all Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Smeerewecke,

¹ See *Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande and Irelande*, by Raphael Holinshed, London, 1577, vol. vi., pp. 427, 430.

² Spenser's *State of Ireland*, p. 430.

which is about six score miles, he would not meet any man, woman or child saving in towns and cities; nor yet see any beasts, but the very wolves, foxes, and others like ravening beasts, many of them laie dead, being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere.”¹

“The troops of Sir Richard Percie—‘left neither corne, nor barn, nor house unburnt between Kinsale and Ross.’² The troops of Captain Harvie—‘did the like between Ross and Bantry.’² The troops of Sir Charles Wilmot entered without resistance an Irish camp, where ‘they found nothing but hurt and sick men, whose pains and lives by the soldiers were both determined.’²

“The Lord President, he himself assures us, having heard that the Munster fugitives were harboured in certain parts of that province, diverted his forces thither, ‘burnt all the houses and corn, taking great preys, . . . and harassing the country, killed all mankind that were found therein.’ From thence he went to other parts, where ‘he did the like, not leaving behind him man or beast, corn or cattle, except such as had been conveyed into castles.’² Long before the war had terminated, Elizabeth was assured that she had little left to reign over but ashes and carcases. It was boasted that in all the wide territory of Desmond not a town, castle, village or farmhouse was unburnt; and a high English official, writing in 1582, computed that in six months, more than 30,000 people had been starved to death in Munster, besides those who were hung, or who perished by the sword.³ Archbishop Usher afterwards described how women were accustomed to lie in wait for a passing rider, and to rush out like famished wolves to kill and devour his horse.⁴ The slaughter of women as well as men, of unresisting peasants as well as armed rebels, was openly avowed by the English commanders.”⁵

“The Irish annalists told, with horrible detail, how the bands of Pelham and Ormond ‘killed blind and feeble men, women, boys

¹ Holinshed, vol. vi., p. 459.

² *Pacata Hibernia* (ed. 1820), pp. 189, 190, 645, 646, 659; see also Leland’s *History of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 287.

³ Froude’s *History of England*, vol. x., p. 603.

⁴ Bernard’s *Life of Usher* (1656), p. 67.

⁵ Froude’s *History of England*, vol. x.

and girls, sick persons, idiots, and old people'¹; how in Desmond's country, even after all resistance had ceased, soldiers forced men and women into old barns which were set on fire, and if any attempted to escape they were shot or stabbed; how soldiers were seen 'to take up infants on the point of their spears, and to whirl them about in their agony.'

"In the single county of Tyrone 3,000 persons in a few months were starved. On one occasion Sir Arthur Chichester, with some other English officers, saw three small children—the eldest not above ten years old—feeding off the flesh of their starved mother. . . . At last hunger and the sword accomplished their work; Tyrone bowed his head before the storm, and English ascendancy was supreme."

O'Donovan states²:

"At this period it was commonly said, that the lowing of a cow, or the voice of the ploughman, could scarcely be heard from DunCaoin (now DunQueen, the most western part of Kerry) to Cashel in Munster."

Later the same authority records³:

"Montjoy boasts, in a letter to the Lords in England, dated 12th September, 1602, that he had brought the country of Tyrone to such a state of famine, by destroying the corn, 'That O'Hagan protested, that between Tullogh Oge and Toome, there lay unburied a thousand dead and that since our drawing this year to Blackwater, there were about three thousand starved in Tyrone.' (B. iii., c. 1.) Moryson⁴ gives a horrible account of the famine which the English caused in Ireland, 'By destroying the rebels corn and using all means to famish them'; but the examples he

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. v., p. 1731, A.D. 1580.

² *Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 1705.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 2348.

⁴ *A History of Ireland for the Years 1599 to 1603*, etc., Dublin, 1735, vol. ii., pp. 283, 284. His *Ten Years' Travell*, etc., was published in 1617. In 1735 the second part of his *Travells* was translated from the Latin and was published as a *History of Ireland*, etc. Moryson wrote entirely from an English standpoint and it is not probable that he exaggerated the condition in Ireland produced by the English.

adduces to shew the miserable state to which the poor people were brought, are too horrible and disgusting to be quoted here. He remarks generally:

“ ‘ No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all colored green by eating nettles, docks and all things they could rend up above ground. These and very many like lamentable effects, followed their rebellion, and, no doubt, the rebels had been utterly destroyed by famine, had not a general peace shortly followed Tyrone’s submission (besides mercy formerly extended to many others) by which the rebels had liberty to seek relief among the subjects of Ireland, and to be transported into England and France &c.’ ”

Battesby writes in reference to the Irish leaders in this war and the method of conducting it by the English:

“ To describe the manner in which the O’Neills and the O’Donnells, the O’Rourkes and the O’Connors, were deprived of their lives, or their estates, would alone swell a volume too dreadful to publish or even to read.”

During the war the Catholic clergy had been hunted as wild beasts and had been put to death as soon as captured and the Catholic churches were all burned.

The Abbé MacGeoghegan wrote ¹:

“ Queen Elizabeth desired nothing more ardently than to extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to rule over the church in this country, as she did in England. The English government adopted every measure likely to advance her views. For this they took care to send over English conformists, attached to the opinions of the court; on whom the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities were conferred according as they expelled the Catholic ministers. To these bishops orders were given to suppress every Catholic institution in their several dioceses, and to establish Protestant free schools, under the guidance of English Protestants, in order that the minds of youth while most susceptible to strong impressions might be seduced. (Irish Stat.,

¹ Pp. 469, 476.

page 346.) Laws were enacted compelling parents to send their children to these schools, and to attend the Protestant service themselves on Sundays. These laws also decreed pecuniary fines against all who refused, which were changed afterwards into the penalties of high treason, so that by acts of Parliament, the fidelity and attachment of the Catholics to the religion of their forefathers, were construed into this enormous crime. Every individual, both of the clergy and laity, was commanded to acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of Elizabeth and to renounce all obedience to the Pope and church of Rome. (Peter Lombard, *Comment. de lib. c. 19.*) . . . The attachment of the Irish to the Catholic religion has been unexampled. Notwithstanding the severe laws that were enacted by Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, down to the accession of James I., it is well established truth, that during that period the number of Irish who embraced the reformed religion did not amount to sixty, in a country which at the time contained two millions of souls."

Great was the suffering of the Irish people who opposed the English forces during the reigns of Elizabeth and Henry VIII. But no pretext was made on the part of the English to conciliate and, while their measures of warfare were brutal in the extreme, the strife was conducted with an uncompromising spirit on both sides.

James I., in the early part of his reign, was supposed by the Irish people, as well as by the English Catholics, to be secretly tolerant at least to the practice of the Catholic religion. They had good reason to believe that such was the case and in proof it is claimed that the evidence is still in existence among the Spanish archives to prove that the contemplated marriage between his son Charles and the daughter of Philip of Spain rested on a secret treaty, in which James pledged his word to return to the Catholic faith, in which he was born and baptized, and that his son and the other members of his family would before the marriage take the same step.

Charles became affianced and, while on a visit to the Span-

ish Court, a member of his suite who was an Irish Catholic of position and bearing the name of Washington¹ became suddenly ill. It has been stated on the authority of a recently published diary of a priest who was present that Washington while on his death-bed wished for the administration of the rites of the Church and that the admittance of the priest was forcibly opposed by some non-Catholic member of Charles's retinue and, in consequence of this quarrel and scandal, the proposed marriage was annulled by Philip. Soon after this incident James changed his policy in Ireland and began to take possession of Ulster to form a plantation by the entire change of its population. Tyrone, Tyrconnell and other leaders were robbed of some five hundred thousand acres, and six counties were forfeited to the Crown in eight days. Three hundred and eighty-five thousand Irish acres were divided up among those in sympathy with English rule, after the great portion of the original owners had been put to the sword.

We will now take into consideration the so-called rebellion of 1641.

When it became evident to the English Government that the Irish under no circumstances would abandon the faith of their forefathers, a deliberate effort was made to exterminate the Catholics and their lands were seized and confiscated by the British Crown.

¹ This Washington was well known at the English Court and was a friend of Lord Baltimore, who was an Irishman, and of William Penn, who lived many years in Ireland before he became a Quaker. Washington's son reached manhood about the time of the strife in Ireland during the reign of Charles when, as will be shown, many of the Catholics were obliged to flee from the country. This young man at that time disappeared and probably made his way to Virginia or to Maryland and may have been the ancestor of General Washington, as it has been claimed that the last member of the English family died almost ten years before the settlement of Jamestown, Va. For centuries past the name of Washington has existed in Ireland. See *The Irish Washingtons at Home and Abroad, together with some mention of the Ancestry of the American Pater Patriæ*, by George Washington, of Dublin, Ireland, and Thomas Hamilton Murray, Boston, Mass. Boston: The Carrollton Press, 1898.

In this war for the first time the English had no Catholic allies, as all of that faith in Ireland were forced to unite in arms to escape extermination.

Charles I. of England was the most active spirit and, if ever a man richly deserved his fate through retributive justice, Charles rightly suffered. If, for no other cause, his inhuman treatment or neglect of the Irish people, who had been most loyal to him, would have justified his execution. No historical event which antedates the testimony of living witnesses can be more clearly established in all its details than the history of the forced outbreak of the Irish people in 1641 and this can be done notwithstanding that there are few instances in history which have been more distorted by falsehood.

When Charles on the death of his father, James I., became King of Ireland, the Catholic portion of the Irish people showed him more loyalty than he received from his British subjects.

During the early part of his reign the Irish people were more than generous in furnishing him with money, supplies and soldiers and he in return violated his promises to them in every instance. Hallam in this connection states¹: “. . . Charles, in truth, showing a most selfish indifference to anything but his own revenue and a most dishonourable unfaithfulness to his word.”

One of the most grievous causes of complaint at his period was due to the uncertainty of title to all landed property in the south and west of Ireland, which condition had resulted from a most absurd claim held by the English Government for the Crown. During the reign of James a large sum had been paid by the Irish owners to have a systematic investigation of each title and a record made to that effect by the Government; and at this time many individuals compromised by paying large sums to remove the claimed lien upon their property. But after

¹ *The Constitutional History of England*, etc., by Henry Hallam, etc., London, 1855, vol. iii., p. 386.

Charles became King it was discovered that James had apparently applied this money to his personal use or at least that no record in some sections existed of the transaction between the Government and the Catholic Irish land-holders; while the titles of the Protestant owners, it was held, had been perfected and so recorded.

According to Carte¹:

“ This defect was supplied in the thirteenth year of King James when a new commission was issued to receive the surrender of their several estates, and to pass unto them and their heirs letters patent for their respective lands to be holden on the crown, as of the Castle of Athlone by Knights’ service; the surrenders were accordingly made, and patents passed to them under the broad seal; but neither of these were enrolled in Chancery. This rendered all their titles defective, and the lands remaining still vested in the crown, it was proposed to make such a plantation there as had been made in Ulster. The omission was not so much the wilful default of the subject, as the neglect of a clerk intrusted by them; for they had paid near three thousand pounds to the officers at Dublin for enrolment to these surrenders and patents, which were never made. . . . And they had paid great sums of money for it into the Exchequer &c.”

For another liberal consideration Charles agreed to grant certain “graces” and to have these titles of the Catholic owners definitely settled and, with the ostensible purpose of carrying out this agreement, a commission was appointed. But the fact is now clearly established that the chief object of the commission was to obtain some pretext for a general confiscation of the land and to make a “plantation” of Connaught after the people had been disposed of.

Lord Wentworth, afterwards Thomas, Earl of Strafford, and the Lord Deputy of Ireland, was Charles’s adviser and, in common with his master, was to be greatly benefited.

Leland states²:

¹ *The Life of James, Duke of Ormond, etc.*, by Thomas Carte, Oxford, 1851, vol. i., p. 96.

² Vol. iii., p. 30.

“His project was nothing less than to subvert the title to every estate in every part of Connaught and to establish a new plantation through this whole province; a project which, when first proposed in the late reign, was received with horror and amazement, but which suited the undismayed and enterprising genius of Lord Wentworth. For this he had opposed the confirmation of the royal graces, transmitted to Lord Faulkland, and taken to himself the odium of so flagrant a violation of the royal promise. The parliament was at an end; and the Deputy at leisure to execute a scheme, which, as it was offensive and alarming, required a cautious and deliberate procedure. Old records of State and the memorials of ancient Monasteries, were ransacked, to ascertain the King’s original title to Connaught. It was soon discovered, that in the Grant of Henry the Third, to Richard de Burgo, five cantreds were reserved to the crown, adjacent to the Castle of Athlone; that this grant included the whole remainder of the Province, which was now alleged to have been forfeited by Aedh O’Connor, the Irish provincial chieftain; that the land and lordship of De Burgo descended lineally to Edward the Fourth; and were confirmed to the crown by a statute of Henry the Seventh.”

At this period the Catholics held nine-tenths of the landed property of that portion of Ireland and the number of the Irish population bore about the same relation to the English settlers. This commission in Ireland was instructed to have the most wealthy persons in the community selected to serve on the juries and in case they *prevaricated*, or did not decide for the King, *they were to be heavily fined to bankrupt and to remain in prison until they were willing to sue for pardon on their knees for having perjured themselves contrary to the evidence.*

The owner of an estate was generally selected to act as foreman of the jury which was to decide on his own title but in every instance where the title was given in favor of the owner he was imprisoned, the property confiscated to the Crown and the jurors heavily fined and also imprisoned.

Strafford wrote ¹:

“ Before my coming from Dublin I had given order, that the gentlemen of the best estates and understandings should be returned, which was done accordingly, as you will find by their names. My reason was, that being a leading case for the whole Province, it would set a great value in their estimation upon the goodness of the King’s title, being found by persons of their qualities, and as much concerned in their own particulars as any other. Again, *finding the evidence so strong, as unless they went against it, they must pass for the King, I resolved to have persons of such means as might answer the King a round fine in the Castle-chamber in case they should prevaricate*, who, in all seeming, even out of that reason, would be more fearful to tread shamefully and impudently aside from the truth, than such as had less or nothing to lose.”

The vein of quiet humor exhibited in this statement of the situation is very Irish but somewhat out of place in an Englishman. The following quotation shows that Strafford, while not an honest man, had at least some knowledge of the weakness of human nature. He wrote ²:

“ Your Majesty was graciously pleased upon my humble advice to bestow four shillings in the pound upon your lord chief justice and lord chief baron in this Kingdom, forth of the first yearly rent raised upon the commission of defective titles, which, upon observation *I find to be the best given that ever was ; For now they do intend it with care and diligence such as were it their own private. And most certain the gaining to themselves every four shillings once paid shall better your revenue for ever after at least five pounds.*”

With the incentive of the bribe of four shillings in the pound the Lord Chief Justice and his colleague did what was expected of them in finding every title defective.

The majority of writers do not hold Charles fully respon-

¹ *State Papers and Despatches of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford*, collected by Rev. Wm. Knowler, Dublin, 1739, vol. ii., p. 339.

² Vol. ii., p. 41.

sible for the rebellion of 1641 and its consequences. While it is quite probable that he had not the mental capacity for originating or developing the plan of making a "plantation" of Connaught, he certainly acquiesced in every suggestion made by his Deputy, Strafford, where it could be shown that he was to receive benefit. His excessive avarice, his egotism and his lack of appreciation of any moral obligation to carry out the most solemn pledge made him a credulous dupe. Yet, he was crafty and could appreciate fully the advantages of any move which would be likely to prove of pecuniary profit to himself. While Wentworth, as his Deputy, and others connected with the Irish Government may, toward the end, have slighted his authority and intrigued with the Puritan party in England, yet Charles as the instigator should be held none the less responsible for the results. If he were proved innocent of every other charge, the odium would still remain that he certainly entered fully into the plan of others to exterminate the entire Catholic population of Ireland that the Crown might thus inherit their lands.

From the writings of Leland, Clarendon, Warner and Carte it is clearly shown that there existed a determined purpose to exterminate the Irish Catholics. And yet the English people will accept with pious horror the fabled or perverted account of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day in France and do so with the conviction that it was authorized by the Catholic Church, while they will remain indifferent to the truth of the suffering and persecution of the Catholics in Ireland during centuries.

Leland states¹:

"The favourite object, both of the Irish governours and the English parliament, was the *utter extermination of all the Catholic inhabitants in Ireland*. Their estates were already marked out, and allotted to their conquerours; so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin."

¹ Leland, vol. iii., p. 166.

A statement made by Clarendon is¹:

"The parliament party, who had heaped so many reproaches and calumnies upon the King, for his clemency to the Irish, had grounded their own authority and strength upon such foundations as were inconsistent with any toleration of the Roman Catholic religion; and even with any humanity to the Irish nation, and more especially to those of the old native extraction, *the whole race whereof they had upon the matter sworn to Extirpate, Etc.*"

Warner writes²:

"It is evident from their (the lords justices) last letter to the lieutenant, that they hoped *for an Extirpation, not of the mere Irish only, but of all the old English families that were Roman Catholics.*"

Carte states³:

"But if it be more needful to dispose of places out of hand, and that it may stand with his Majesty's pleasure to fill some of them with Irish that are Protestants, and *that have not been for the Extirpation of the Papist natives*, it will much satisfy both, and cannot be excepted against."

Carte also states⁴:

"Indeed there is too much reason to think, that as the lords justices really wished the rebellion to spread, and more gentlemen of estates to be involved in it, that *the forfeitures might be greater*, and a general plantation to be carried on by a new set of English Protestants, all over the Kingdom, *to the ruin and expulsion of all the old English and natives that were Roman Catholics*; so to promote what they wished, they gave out speeches upon occasions,

¹ Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland*, etc., Oxford, 1843, vol. i., p. 115.

² *A History of the Rebellion and Civil War of Ireland*, by Ferdinando Warner, London, 1768, p. 176.

³ *Life of James, Duke of Ormond*, etc., vol. vi., p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 145; see also p. 90.

insinuating such a design, and *that in a short time there would not be a Roman Catholic left in the Kingdom.* It is no small confirmation of this notion that the Earl of Ormond, in his letters of January 27th, and February 25th, 1641, to Sir W. St. Leger, imputes the general revolt of the nation, then far advanced, to the publishing of such a design; etc. . . . I do not find that the copies of these letters are preserved; but the original of Sir W. St. Leger's in answer to them sufficiently shows it to be his lordship's opinion; for, after acknowledging the receipt of those two letters, he wrote these words:—'The undue promulgation of that severe determination to Extirpate the Irish and Papacy out of this Kingdom your lordship rightly apprehends to be too unreasonably published,' &c."

IN OTHER WORDS, THE ONLY SOURCE OF REGRET WAS DUE TO THE FACT THAT *THE PURPOSE OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT BECAME GENERALLY KNOWN TOO SOON,* AND IN TIME FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE, BY UNITING, TO MAKE SOME EFFORT AT SELF-DEFENCE.

The more prominent Irish chiefs, with the Catholic Lords of the Pale and the Bishops throughout Ireland, met together at Kilkenny to decide upon some plan of defence for their mutual protection. They then formed what was termed the "Confederation of Kilkenny," issued the Remonstrance of the Catholics of Ireland, delivered to his Majesty's Commissioners, at Trym, 17th of March, 1642,¹ and inaugurated what has been claimed to be one of the boldest efforts for civil and religious liberty known in the history of Ireland.

¹ See Appendix, note 4, First Edition in abstract, and Plowden, vol. i., Appendix, p. 81, and other authorities for this document in full, giving the condition of the Catholics in Ireland at this period. It is a remarkable and valuable State paper in which the Irish Committee, with a full appreciation of the grievous wrongs inflicted upon the country, cite them in detail and in a most temperate manner.

"Nothing is easier than to say that this disaffection is unreasonable, perverse and wicked. Persons against whom such complaints are made always consider disaffection perverse, from the Kaiser on his throne to the fish-wife skinning eels and cursing them for not being quiet."

J. C. Morison

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL CONFISCATION PLANNED BEFORE THE WAR—
CLARENDON'S STATEMENT AND OTHERS AS TO THE
ORIGIN OF THE CIVIL WAR—ENGLISH METHOD OF
ACQUIRING TITLE TO THE LANDS—SUFFERING OF
THE PEOPLE NEVER EQUALLED—APPEAL OF THE
CATHOLICS TO CHARLES I. TOO LATE

IT is known that extensive preparation for a general confiscation had been planned in England two months before the uprising in Ireland had been general. The organization was completed about four months after the worthy (!) Owen O'Conally had testified to the existence of a plot formed by the people of Ireland "to destroy all the English inhabiting there," a statement which the most credulous did not believe to be true. Yet on O'Conally's testimony, as the fabrication was termed, the so-called historians of the day based a vindication for the extreme measures resorted to by the English company of "Adventurers" formed in London for "the work of reducing the Kingdom of Ireland," who were to be indemnified "on the forfeiture of the whole Island, except what belonged to the Protestants."¹

¹ The following is taken from the Preface, p. 6, of Mathew Carey's *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, etc. : "The Rev. Mr. Lingard, a Roman Catholic historian, has, through the most culpable neglect, lent the sanction of his name to one of the most stupid and bare-faced impostures, that ever disgraced history ; That is the clumsy fabrications of O'Conally, of the pretended conspiracy of the Irish in 1641, to murder all the Protestants that would not join with them ; a fabrication, the basis on which rested the whole train of frauds and perjuries, and forgeries, by which two-thirds, if not three-fourths, of all the profitable lands of Ireland were confiscated, and thousands and tens of thousands of the Irish

They presented an address to Parliament on February 1, 1641-42, which was entered on the minutes,¹ as a "Proposition made by divers gentlemen, citizens and others, for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Kingdom of Ireland." The second proposition read:

"They do conceive, that the work being finished, there will be in that Kingdom, of confiscated lands, such as go under the name of profitable lands *ten million of acres, English measure.*"

The third proposition was:

"That two millions and a half of those acres, to be equally taken out of the four provinces, will sufficiently satisfy those that shall advance this million of money."

As Ireland contained not more than nineteen millions of acres and about ten millions only of "profitable lands," it is made evident by this document, on which the agreement was made, that Parliament also had determined beforehand to exterminate the Irish Catholics and to confiscate the whole country.

According to Leland²:

"A bill was framed for repaying those who should advance certain sums, for suppressing of the rebels (as was pretended) by vesting them with proportional estates in Ireland, on terms highly advantageous to a new English plantation. It evidently tended to exasperate the malcontents, and to make all accommodation desperate, but it was not on this account less acceptable to the popular leaders."

ruined, exiled or executed. With pains hardly credible—and research rarely equalled, and perhaps never exceeded, I have fully and irrefragably disproved all those calumnies, and, *mirabile dictu*, in almost every case, by quotations from the writings of the accusers and their friends. And I have not only done this, but have fully proved, that whatever massacres were perpetrated, were *on* and not *by* the Irish."

¹ Journals of the House of Commons, vol. ii., p. 435.

² Vol. iii., p. 162.

Sir John Temple, in his work on *The Irish Rebellion*, perverted the truth to a greater extent than any other writer and, as he did so in an attractive manner, his version has been generally accepted. Temple charges the Irish people, who were unarmed and who up to that time had been apparently most loyal to the British Government, with having perpetrated a general slaughter at the beginning and even before the uprising had extended beyond Ulster and with thus causing the death of a greater number of English people than was generally supposed to have been in the whole country at that time.¹ Most writers since Temple's time have made at least some seeming attempt to present the truth but on Hume must rest the discredit of having drawn upon his imagination, in the perversion of truth regarding Irish affairs, to a greater extent than any other so-called historian. The Irish writers all agree with the statement made by Curry² and based upon the following verbatim quotation from Clarendon³:

"About the beginning of November (1641), the English and Scots forces in Cnockfergus murdered in one night all the inhabitants of the territory of the Island Gee, to the number of about three thousand men, women, and children, all innocent persons, at a time when none of the Catholics in that country were in arms, or rebellion. Note: that this was the first massacre committed in Ireland on either side."

Hallam, with his frequent lack of fairness from an Irish Catholic standpoint, states⁴:

¹ See Appendix, note 5, in the First Edition.

² Appendix, No. vi., p. 409.

³ *Rebellion in Ireland*, p. 328. The testimony here given by Clarendon is of the greatest value, as throughout the work it is shown his prejudice was against the Irish people. The quotation given follows a citatory collection from every source of all the crimes which were charged against the Irish and from an evident spirit of justice it is preceded by the following chapter heading: "*A collection of some of the Massacres and Murthers committed on the Irish in Ireland since the 23 of October, 1641.*" A study of this collection by an impartial judge would justify the retaliation of the Irish people even if every act charged against them were proved to be true.

⁴ *Constitutional History*, vol. iii., note, p. 392.

“ It has been not unfrequent with Catholic writers to allege that 3000 Irish had been massacred by the Protestants in Isle Magee, near Carrisfergus, before the rebellion broke out. Curry in his grossly unfair *History of the Civil Wars* and Plowden in his not less unfair and more superficial *Historical Review of the State of Ireland* are among these; the latter having been misled or affecting to be persuaded, by a passage in the Appendix to Clarendon’s *Historical Account of Irish Affairs*, which Appendix evidently was not written by that historian himself, but subjoined by some one to the posthumous work, &c.”

Both writers thus referred to by Hallam have been considered by students of Irish history as reliable in their statements, notwithstanding they might differ from the deductions drawn by them. Hallam, however, is entitled to credit for originality, as no one but himself, so far as the writer is informed, has ever claimed that in Clarendon’s work what Hallam terms an appendix—“evidently was not written by that historian himself &c.” In the absence of all proof it is evident that he might equally as well have designated any other chapter in the work which contained some statement not in accord with his prejudices.

Warner discredits the charge as follows¹:

“ But as the fact of so great a massacre is strenuously insisted upon, it may be worth while to examine its credibility. The island, or rather the peninsula of Magee, which is artfully enough called a territory, that the reader may be led to suppose it a large district, capable of supporting a numerous race of inhabitants, is a long narrow tongue of land, three miles in length and at a medium a mile in breadth, at that time not cultivated and without a single town. If any one can believe that such a territory was so thoroughly thronged as to contain above three thousand inhabitants, when the whole kingdom of Ireland was extremely thin in people, he may believe it for himself, but he should not desire to impose it upon other people. If there is any truth in the fact of a massacre there, which is very probable, it may be confidently affirmed that it was not the first in Ireland, nor in Ulster, nor

¹ P. 114.

before any Catholick of that country had been in arms; and it may be supposed, in order to reconcile it with probability, that the number reported by the author was three hundred, but being written in figures was easily mistaken in the copy for three thousand."

Warner also states in reference to the accounts given as to the number who were massacred: "It is easy enough from thence to demonstrate the falsehood of the relation of every Protestant historian."

At this day it matters little who precipitated the conflict by the first massacre. The one fact is fully established that in England a war of extermination was determined upon long before the Irish had any admonition of the coming storm.

Warner is guilty of special pleading in the impression he endeavors to create. The country was doubtless thinly settled and on this land or peninsula of Magee only a few families lived. But the fact is frequently mentioned that for some time before, at approaching danger, a large number of people had begun to collect at this point for safety and that the authorities in the neighborhood had sent there in addition a number of women and children who were without protection. So that even a larger number of Irish people might have been collected at this point early in November, when the massacre took place.

It was not until the end of December, 1641, that the people in Connaught rose. Curry states in addition¹:

"That the like inhuman treatment of the natives of Connaught, by persons placed in authority there occasioned the first rise, and subsequently the extension of the trouble in that province appears from the authentic testimony of the Earl of Clanrickard, who was Governor of Galway during the whole war."

There had been in Ireland comparative peace since the confiscation of Ulster by James and the people of the north and west were engaged in their agricultural pursuits, in

¹ P. 147.

repairing their fortunes and in providing for the support of their families. Not an overt act of hostility by the Irish people had yet been perpetrated when the English troops were suddenly quartered upon them with instructions to force the people to a speedy outbreak.

Cattle and all available property were seized; persons in all stations of life were imprisoned without charges preferred against them or were wilfully murdered without provocation; the wives and daughters of the Irish were subjected to unspeakable brutality; the well and the sick, the young and the old were indiscriminately turned adrift or murdered, their houses burned and all provisions and stores which could not be used by the troops were wantonly destroyed. In desperation a number of Irish men, imperfectly armed and without leaders, were at length forced in self-defence to offer resistance and to retaliate. In consequence of this justifiable retaliation, the English writers of history have actually put forward an *ex-post-facto* argument to justify the provocation given by the English troops. No less than three thousand heads of families, constituting the Catholic nobility and gentry and the owners of the land in the west of Ireland, were imprisoned, charged with treason and their property seized. A commission was formed, consisting of a judge and juryman, who were supposed to have been sworn, to investigate the charge of treason against these individuals. *Over one thousand indictments, which were in fact but death-warrants for many, were drawn up by this commission in two days, by which each individual was found guilty of treason, thus losing at least his property, which was seized by the Crown.*

If it be assumed that the jury worked continuously each day for twelve hours, the average would be two indictments for every three minutes; during which time it was supposed that witnesses duly sworn were examined as to the guilt of the accused and, after due deliberation and giving the prisoner the benefit of all doubt, if the testimony was not deemed reliable the jury was to render a verdict accordingly.

Is it possible to conceive of a more complete travesty on justice?

The prisoners knew nothing of the proceedings and the average time of one minute and a half was scarcely sufficient to add the signatures necessary to give each a semblance of legality. Under ordinary circumstances the indictment could not possibly fix the guilt of the person indicted. But the writer has found no mention made of any subsequent trial of these individuals for treason, while the immediate seizure of their landed property is clearly shown. The inference to be drawn is that, in the disturbed condition of the country, the pretended guilt of the owners was established by the act of confiscation, on the plea of treason, for which the immutable penalty was death. So that the simple indictment seems to have been literally their death-warrant.

In a most simple-minded manner, apparently, or else as a humorist, Carte refers to this crime in the following terms¹:

“ In consequence of these examinations, and perhaps of other kind of management, they had all of them been indicted of high treason; their goods had been wholly destroyed and taken away by the rebels and soldiers, and themselves, being denied the favour of being bailed, were ready to perish in prison for want of relief. The pretence for refusing to bail them was drawn from indictments which had been found against them, and about a thousand others, by a grand jury, in the space of two days. *There was certainly too much hurry in the finding of these indictments (of which about three thousand were on record) to allow time for the examination of each particular case, and they were too generally found on very slight evidence.* The Roman Catholics complained that *there were strange practices used with the jurors, menaces to some, promises of reward and parts of the forfeited estates made to others*; and though great numbers of the indicted persons might be really guilty, *there was too much reason given to suspect the evidence.* I am more inclined *to suspect that there was a good deal of corruption and iniquity in the methods of gaining these indictments*, because I find a very remarkable memorandum made by

¹ *Life of Ormond, etc.*, vol. ii., pp. 466, 467.

the Marquis of Ormond, in his own writing, of a passage in the council on April 23rd, 1643. There was then a letter read at the board from a person who claimed a great merit to himself, in getting some hundreds of gentlemen indicted, and the rather *for that he had laid out sums of money to procure witnesses to give evidence to a jury for the finding those indictments*. This was an intimate friend of Sir William Parsons, and might very well know that such methods would be approved by him."

As soon as the outbreak had been forced at the north, an order went forth from the Government for a war of extermination and "*to spread the dissatisfaction as far as possible*."

Carte states¹:

"The lords justices. . . . They would not hear of any cessation or treaty with the rebels; they absolutely disliked his lordship's (Clanrickarde) receiving the submission, and granting his protection to the town of Galway; and sent him express orders to receive no more submissions from any persons whatever, but to prosecute the rebels and their adherents, harbourers and relievers, with fire and sword. To prevent the like submissions and protections in other places, they issued out a general order to commanders of all garrisons, not to presume to hold any correspondence, treaty, intelligence, or intercourse with any of the Irish and Papists dwelling or residing in any place near or about their garrisons, or to give protection, immunity, or dispensation from spoil, burning, or other prosecution of war to any of them; but to prosecute all such rebels, harbourers or relievers of rebels, from place to place, with fire and sword, *according to former commands and proclamations in that behalf*. Such was the constant tenor of their orders, though they knew that the soldiers in executing them murdered all persons promiscuously, not sparing (as they told the commissioners for Irish affairs) the women, and sometimes not the children."

Clarendon writes²:

"The parliament had some months before made an ordinance against giving quarter to any of the Irish nation which should be

¹ *Life of Ormond*, etc., vol. ii., pp. 267, 268.

² *History of the Rebellion*, etc., p. 539.

taken prisoners, either at sea or on land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the King, till long after; though the Earl of Warwick, and the officers under him at sea, had, as often as he met with any Irish frigates, or such freebooters as sailed under their commission, taken all the seamen who became prisoners to them of that nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them overboard into the sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were Irish. *And in this barbarous manner very many poor men perished daily, &c.*"

There were numerous instances on record where Irish prisoners, on being tied together back to back, were drowned and thus disposed of by the English.

It is stated by Plowden ¹:

"Sir William St. Leger, the President of Munster, committed the most unprovoked murders and barbarities throughout that province, and when the principal nobility and gentry remonstrated with him upon the danger of their rising, he tauntingly insulted them all—'as rebels, would not trust one of them, and thought it most prudent to hang the best of them.' . . . The particular views for goading this province into rebellion, are fully laid open in Lord Cork's letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons in England, which he sent together with eleven hundred indictments, against persons of property in that province, to have them settled by crown lawyers, and returned to him; and so says he, '*if the house please to direct to have them all proceeded against to outlawry, whereby his Majesty may be entitled to their lands and possessions, which I there boldly affirm, was, at the beginning of this insurrection, not of so little yearly value as two hundred thousand pounds.*' This Earl of Cork was notorious during the two preceding reigns, for his rapacity; but this last effort he called the *work of works*. In Dublin, many were put on the rack, in order to extort confessions; and in the short space of two days upwards of four thousand indictments were found against landholders, and other men of property in Leinster. And numerous are the letters of Lord Clanrickard to Ormond and others, complaining of similar attempts to raise Connaught into rebellion, even by Ormond's own troops."

¹ Vol. i., p. 117, note.

Over six hundred thousand men, women and children were slaughtered or died from starvation and it is estimated that about forty thousand persons in addition were so fortunate as to escape to the Continent. It was a common saying among the English soldiers—"Nits will make lice," so very few of the Irish children were spared.¹

By this transaction, or rebellion as it is termed, the Government came into possession of some ten millions of acres or, as we have stated, a little more than one-half of all the land in Ireland.

Various works bearing on this war of extermination and written by Catholic authors were ordered by Parliament to be collected and burned and generally the publishers were imprisoned. Prendergast states²:

"The act of Oblivion, passed by the English Parliament in 1660, covered all the acts of the Protestants of Ireland, but none

¹ The following note from Curry's work (p. 415) may be of interest to the American reader in connection with the name of Washington: "In the same year (1641) after quarter given by Lieutenant Gibson to those of the Castle of Carrigmain, they were all put to the sword, being about 350, most of them women and children; and Colonel Washington, endeavouring to save a pretty child of seven years old, carried him under his cloak, but the child against his will was killed in his arms, which was a principal motive of his quitting that service." May not this Washington have emigrated to America, as we have shown it is claimed the English branch of Washingtons died out before the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia? If the reader desires to obtain evidence as to the number of persons sacrificed, and particularly in reference to those who were murdered as prisoners after quarter had been granted, the following article should be consulted: "Extract of a collection of some of the massacres and murders committed on the Irish in Ireland since the 23d of October, 1641. . . . This collection was first published in London in the year 1662. The author's frequent, candid and public appeal to things openly transacted and to enemies themselves, then living and well known, is a strong point that what he relates is real matter of fact; and there is yet a stronger inducement to think it so, because it has never yet been proved to be otherwise; nor, as far as I have learned, ever attempted to be proved." The reprint is in *An Historical and Critical Review*, etc., by Curry, Appendix, pp. 409-423.

² *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, second edition, Dublin, 1875, by John P. Prendergast, p. 69.

ever passed for the Irish, *though expressly promised*. So that acts of war are to this day counted against the Irish as murders, while massacres by the English or Scotch are suppressed. Thus, Newry surrendered to Marshal Conway and General Munro, the commanders of the joint English and Scottish armies, on 4th May, 1642, on quarter for life. Yet forty of the townsmen were put to death next day on the bridge, and amongst them 'two of the Pope's Pedlars' (so they called two Seminary priests); and the Scotch soldiers, finding a crowd of Irish women and children hiding under the bridge, took some eighteen of the women and stript them naked and threw them into the river and drowned them, shooting them in the water; and more had suffered so, but that Sir James Turner, in command under General Munro, galloped up and stopt his men. They were only copying, he says, the cruel example set them by the English under Conway's command. It was intended to terrify the Irish, he adds, it failed; for in revenge they put some ministers, prisoners in their hands, to death.' All this was published in London in *A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scots and English Forces in the North of Ireland in 1642*. The Parliament ordered (June 8, 1642), the book to be burned, not as false but as scandalous and to the dishonour of the Scots nation, and the printer to be imprisoned.² The Confederate Catholics printed, in 1643, a collection of the murders done upon the Irish by the English. The book was burnt at Dublin on the 26th June, 1660, by order of the Lord Lieutenant and Council³; and on 7th July, 1663, Patrick Rooth, a poor sailor, was imprisoned for selling it."⁴

"One work out of many written at the time in defence of the Irish, and thus destroyed, has survived. It seems to be a reprint at Kilkenny, in December 1642, of a work published in London, in the form of a discourse between a Privy Councillor of Ireland and one of the Council of England. The Privy Councillor of Ireland treats of the causes of the Insurrection, taking up Irish

¹ *Memoirs of his own Life and Times*, by Sir James Turner, 1632-70, Edinburgh, 1829, p. 19.

² *Commons' Journals* for 8th June, 1642, vol. ii., p. 619.

³ *Brief Occurrences Touching Ireland. Begun the 25th March 1661*, Carte Papers, vol. lxiv., p. 442.

⁴ *Petition of Patrick Rooth*, etc., Carte Papers, vol. lx., p. 337.

grievances from the Earl of Strafford's government in 1633, and touches towards the end upon the collection of outrages by the seven despoiled ministers, called the Remonstrance, which was published in the month of April, 1642.¹ He does not confute the massacre, only because none is charged. His complaint is, that they had given an exaggerated account of murders and outrages. 'Doubtless the Irish did, in many places,' he says, 'kill men resisting them in their pillaging; but the reports of their killing women or men desiring quarter, and such like inhumanities, were inventions to draw contributions, and make the enemy odious. But sure I am (he continues) that there was no such thing done while I was there in Ireland, about six months after these *sturres* began. And though unarmed, men, women, and children were killed in thousands by command of the Lords Justices, the Irish sent multitudes of our people, both before and since these cruelties done, as well officers and soldiers as women and children, carefully conveyed, to the seaports and other places of safety; so let us call them what we will—bloody inhuman traitors, or barbarous rebels—we have suffered ourselves to be much exceeded by them in charity, humanity, and honour. . . .

“To hear the English complain of massacres in Ireland is about as entertaining as it proved to the Rhwegians to hear the Carthagenians complain of anything affected by guile. For it was only victory that decided, with her usual contempt for justice, that the Irish, and not the English, should be noted to the world for massacre.”

As Charles lost ground and was opposed by the Puritans, he seemed to have felt some sympathy for the suffering then being inflicted upon the Irish people who had remained loyal to him. At their petition, he appointed a commission to hear their complaint and to receive in writing what they had to communicate but it was too late to receive more than an expression of their sympathy.

¹ *A Discourse between Two Councillors of State, the One of England and the Other of Ireland.* Printed at Kilkenny the 10th of Dec., 1642. Carte Papers, vol. iv., No. 54.

"Law in Ireland was the friend neither of the people nor of justice, but the impartial persecutor of both."

Aubrey De Vere

CHAPTER V

CROMWELL IN IRELAND—CATHOLICS NEARLY EXTERMINATED AND HUNTED AS WILD BEASTS—PEOPLE OF ALL RANKS SENT TO AMERICA AND SOLD AS SLAVES—THE REMAINDER GIVEN THE CHOICE OF GOING TO "HELL OR CONNAUGHT"—FROM THESE PEOPLE OF GENTLE BIRTH AND REFINEMENT THE IRISH PEASANTRY OF TO-DAY ARE DESCENDED—NO OTHER RACE PRESENTS SUCH AN ANOMALY—IRISH COLLEGES FOUNDED IN PARIS AND ELSEWHERE ON THE CONTINENT

MANY of Cromwell's officers were educated in this struggle undertaken for the purpose of exterminating the Irish race, so that when they were called upon to serve in his invasion of Ireland a few years later, they were in every respect soldiers of fortune. But we must be content to cite only a few circumstances connected with Cromwell's campaign in Ireland.

Mathew Carey writes ¹:

"Of all the cases of murderous cruelty, that marked the career of the government force in Ireland, the most atrocious occurred at the surrender of Drogheda. The history of the Huns, Vandals, Goths and Ostragoths, or of those scourges of the human race, the successors of Mahomet, may be searched in vain for anything more shocking. . . . Cromwell had besieged this town for some time; and was finally admitted on promise of quarter. The garrison consisted of the flower of the Irish army, and might have beaten him back, had they not been seduced by

¹ *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, second edition, p. 425; third edition, p. 348; see also the statement of the Marquis of Ormond, Carte, vol. ii., p. 84.

his solemn promise of mercy, which was observed till the whole had laid down their arms. Then the merciless wretch commanded his soldiers to begin the slaughter of the entire garrison, *which slaughter continued for five days* with every circumstance of brutal and sanguinary violence that the most cruel savages could conceive or perpetrate.”

Cromwell in his canting official report of the siege wrote:

“It has pleased God to bless our endeavours at Drogheda. . . . I wish that all honest hearts may *give the glory of this to God alone, to whom indeed the praise of this mercy belongs.* . . . I believe *we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants.* . . . I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives; those that did, are in safe custody for the Barbadoes, etc.”

Where, it may be added, as he had previously stated, they were sold as slaves, as were thousands of other prisoners from Ireland.

Warner writes¹:

“But on the 9th of September the summons having been rejected, Cromwell began to batter the place; and continuing to do so till the next day in the evening, the assault was made and his men twice repulsed with great bravery; but in the third attack which he led himself, Colonel Wall being killed at the head of his regiment, his men were so dismayed, that they submitted to the enemy offering them quarter sooner than they need to have done and thereby betrayed themselves and their fellow-soldiers to the slaughter. The place was immediately taken by storm; and though his officers and soldiers had promised quarter to all that would lay down their arms, yet Cromwell ordered that no quarter should be given, and none was given accordingly. The slaughter continued all that day, and the next, and the Governour and four Colonels were killed in cool blood; ‘which extraordinary severity,’ says Ludlow, with a coolness not becoming a man—‘I presume was used to discourage others from making opposition.’ But are men to divest themselves of humanity, and to turn themselves into

¹ P. 470.

Devils because policy may suggest that they will succeed better as devils than as men? Such is the spirit of religion, when it is deprived of truth and reason and turned into zealous fury and enthusiasm. When Cromwell had finished the carnage by leaving only about thirty alive, whom he sent away to Barbadoes, except a few that miraculously made their escape, he went on to Dundalh.”

Friar Broudine gives the following account of the massacre¹:

“This butchery (in which young men and virgins, children at the breast, and the aged were slain every where by these barbarians, without distinction of place, sex, religion or age) lasted five continuous days. Four thousand Catholic men, not to mention an infinite multitude of religious women, boys, girls and infants in the City fell victims to the sword of these impious rebels.”

These statements are fully verified in a letter written by the Marquis of Ormond² to the King and to Lord Byron. And the additional information is given that when the official despatch was laid before the English Parliament a resolution was passed which was to be transmitted to Cromwell and his officers: “That the House doth approve of the execution done in Drogheda, both as an act of justice to them and mercy to others, who may be warned by it.”

Cromwell with this endorsement after obtaining possession of the city of Wexford, in utter disregard for his pledge of quarter, showed the same degree of cruelty there as he had exercised at Drogheda.

Borlace writes³:

“Commissioners, who treating with Cromwell, had procured

¹ The Rev. Fr. Anthony Broudine was evidently present as an eye-witness in Drogheda at the time of the massacre and was fortunate to escape to the Continent. For many years he taught theology in the Irish college at Prague and in 1669 he published *Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis* (Pars I (et unica) Historiæ in 5 Lebris Secta), the quotations being from part iv.

² *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii., p. 477.

³ *History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion*, etc., London, 1680, p. 225.

the safety of the Inhabitants of the Town, and the preservation of it from plunder, as leave for the Soldiers to depart every one to their homes (they engaging not to bear Arms any more against the State of England), and lastly, of life to the officers."

And yet as soon as all were disarmed, in violation of the treaty *over two thousand men, women and children found in the town were slaughtered without mercy!* After taking Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford and a number of other places, the garrisons, with all others found in these towns, were brutally murdered after having surrendered.

In continuation we will again quote from Carey's work (third edition, p. 351):

"Three thousand men, women and children, of all ranks and ages took refuge in the Cathedral of Cashel, hoping the Temple of the living God would afford them a sanctuary from the butcheries that were laying the whole country desolate. The barbarian Ireton forced the gates of the church, and let loose his bloodhounds among them, who soon convinced them how vain was their reliance on the Temple or the altar of God. They were slaughtered without discrimination. Neither rank, dignity or character, saved the nobleman, the bishop or the priest; nor decrepitude nor his hoary head, the venerable sage bending down into the grave; nor her charms, the virgin; nor her virtues, the respectable matron; nor its helplessness, the smiling infant. Butchery was the order of the day, and all shared the common fate."

This statement is not strictly correct. It is true that Ireton was in general command but most writers agree in the statement that the attack on Cashel was made directly by Murrough O'Brien, Baron of Inchiquin, an Irishman, who had deserted the King's standard when his request to be made Governor of Munster had been refused.

MacGeoghegan states¹:

"It may be observed, that the houses of Thüomond and Inchiquin had imbibed, with their English titles, all the malignity

¹ MacGeoghegan, p. 578.

of the English against the Irish. Under the auspices of a rebellious parliament Inchiquin fought against his countrymen more like a robber than the general of an army; he destroyed everything with fire and sword in his march through Munster. The holy City of Cashel, where the apostle of Ireland baptized the first Christian King of the province, did not escape his fury; in vain the terrified inhabitants sought safety in the cathedral church, the sanctity of which was no security against the tyrant. Inchiquin having given orders for an assault, commanded his soldiers to give no quarter, so that, between the carnage in and outside of the Church, not one escaped. Twenty clergymen, with a vast multitude of people, perished on this occasion."

In the *Memoirs* of General Ludlow¹ we find:

"Having brought together an army, he (Ireton) marched into the country of Tipperary, and learning that many priests and gentry about Cashel had retired with their goods into the church, he stormed it, and being entered, *put three thousand of them to the sword, taking the priests even from under the altar.*"

According to Warner²:

"Inchiquin offered before he attacked it to give leave for the Governor and inhabitants to depart, on condition they would advance three thousand pounds and a month's pay for his army. The proposal was rejected and the place taken by storm; when a prodigious booty was found and a most horrible carnage of the citizens and garrison ensued before his lordship entered, who put a stop to it immediately."

Borlace, in his history already referred to, states,³ in "An Abbreviate of Sir William Cole's Services, in his Fort of Eniskillin," that he, with five hundred men and one troop of horse, *slew two thousand, four hundred and seventeen persons* "that account hath been taken of," during the campaign in Ireland, or in other words they murdered over that

¹ *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, Vevay, 1698, vol. i., p. 106.

² P. 412.

³ Borlace, p. 87.

number of non-combatants or defenceless persons. But Sir William evidently prided himself particularly on one achievement, mentioned by Borlace in the same "Abbreviate," showing that he "*Starv'd and Famish'd of the Vulgar sort seven thousand persons*" in addition, "whose goods were seized on by this Regiment," and whom he held as prisoners after having plundered them of all their property.

In the *Sydney Papers*, London, 1746, is given an account of Sir Richard Cox's services in Ireland where he makes the following boast:

"As to the enemy, I used them like nettles, and squeezed them (I mean their vagabond partyes) soe hard, that they could seldom sting; *having, as I believe, killed and hanged no less than three thousand of them*, whilst I stayed in the County of Cork; and taken from them in cattle and plunder, at least to the value of Twelve thousand pounds, which you will easily believe, when you know that I divided three hundred and eighty pounds between one troop (Colonel Townsend's) in the beginning of August. After which Colonel Beecher and the western gentlemen got a prey worth three thousand pounds, besides several other lesser preys, taken by small partyes, that are not taken notice of &c."

If an insignificant portion was so successful in "killing," "hanging," and "getting other preys," what must have been accomplished by the whole army which overran and treated in a similar manner the greater part of Ireland?

According to Taaffe¹:

"The act of the 27th of Elizabeth, by proclamation from these regicide commissioners, was made of force in Ireland, and ordered to be most strictly put in execution. By it 'Every Romish Priest was deemed guilty of rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged until *he was half dead*; then to have his head cut off and his body cut in quarters; his bowels to be drawn out and burnt; and his head fixed upon a pole in some public place.' The punishment of those who entertained a priest, was by the same act, con-

¹ *An Impartial History of Ireland*, etc., by Dennis Taaffe, Dublin, vol. iii., pp. 338, 339.

fiscation of their goods and chattels, and the ignominious death of the gallows. This Edict was renewed the same year, with the additional cruelty of making even the private exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion a capital crime. Many shocking examples of the strict execution of these barbarous edicts were daily seen, insomuch, that 'Neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the Christians by Nero, nor any of the other Pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland, at that juncture, by these savage commissioners.'"¹

Taaffe also quotes from Curry²:

" 'The same price (five pounds) was set by these commissioners on the head of a Romish Priest, as on that of a wolf; the number of which latter was then very considerable in Ireland; and although the profession and character of a Romish Priest could not, one would think, be so clearly ascertained, as the species of a wolf, by the mere inspection of their heads thus severed from their bodies, yet the bare asseveration of the beheaders was, in both cases, equally credited and rewarded by these commissioners. So inveterate was their malice and hatred of that order of men.' "

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and of James, Charles and Cromwell, the Catholic population of Ireland, which had not been put to the sword, was reduced to beggary by the general confiscation of their lands and of all personal property. In Cromwell's day, after the rightful owners had been despoiled and, as a rule, put to the sword, at least two-thirds of Ireland's territory was resettled by persons devoted to the English interests. With the exception of a very limited number, who remained behind as menials, the surviving Catholic population was driven westward across the Shannon, without distinction of class or former social position; and in this destitute condition they were given by Cromwell the choice of going to "Hell or Connaught."

¹ Morrison's *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, Innsbruck, 1659, p. 14.

² *Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, etc.

Lord Clare in his noted "Speech upon the Union" stated that 11,697,629 acres had been confiscated in Ireland as follows:

Forfeited up to the close of James I.'s reign.....	2,836,837
Forfeited up to the close of Charles II.'s reign.....	7,800,000
Forfeited at the Revolution.....	1,060,792
Total.....	11,697,629

"So that the whole of our island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families in the reign of Henry VIII., who recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable portion of the Island had been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the course of the century. . . . The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation at the revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world."

Curry writes ¹:

"Cromwell and his council, finding the utter extirpation of the nation, *which they had intended*, to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made some impression upon the stone hardness of their own hearts, after so many thousand destroyed by the sword, fire, famine, and the plague; and after so many thousands transported into foreign parts, found out the following expedient of transplantation, which they called 'an act of grace.' There was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest, by a long and large river, and which, by the plague, and many massacres, remained almost desolate. Into this space, and circute of land, they required all the Irish to retire by a certain day, under the penalty of death; and all who after that time, should be found in any other part of the Kingdom, man, woman or child, might be killed, by any body who saw or met them. The land within this circute, the most barren in the Kingdom, was out of the grace and mercy of the conquerors, assigned to

¹ P. 275.

those of the nation, who were enclosed in such proportions, as might with great industry, preserve their lives. And to those persons, from whom they had taken great quantities of land in other provinces, they assigned greater proportions within this precinct. And that they might not be exalted with this merciful donative, it was a condition that accompanied this their accommodation, that they should all give releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned them; and so they should forever bar themselves, and their heirs, from laying claim to their old inheritance, &c.”

Walsh states ¹:

“The gentlemen were thus transplanted, without cattle to stock their land, without seed to sow, or plough to manure it; without servants, without shelter, without house or cabin to dwell in, or defend them from the wolves, or from robbers, or from heat or cold, or other injuries of the air. And the miserable Irish so transplanted, must not, even in those small tracts allotted for them, within the narrow precincts of some parks in three or four counties of Connaught, and Thomond, pitch in any place, or fix their dwelling houses or take any lands within two miles of the Shannon, four of the sea, and four of Galway, the only city within their precinct; they must not enter this town, or any other corporate or garrisoned place, without particular orders, at their peril, even of being taken by the throat. . . . It was during this calamitous period, that poverty had recourse to various rude means of husbandry and economy, very different from the modes practiced in more fortunate and civilized periods. Then it was, that horses were made to draw the plough by the tail. That it was not prior to this, is clear from the name of a plough in the native tongue, and of its tackling, Seisereach, vulg, Seistreach; meaning, six horses to the plough. ‘Threshing corn with fiery flail.’ The scarcity of timber, by the burning of forests for hunting the unfortunate natives therefrom, obliged great numbers, at a distance from bogs, to use dung of animals for fuel, and for soap too; and the general distress brought sled-cars in

¹ Walsh, Rev. Peter, *Reply to the Person of Quality, etc.*, 1664, p. 145, and Taaffe, vol. iii., pp. 342-343.

use instead of wheels. These rude implements have been recorded, by the very enemies who compelled their victims to have recourse to these poor means, as so many proofs of their original barbarity."

Sir William Petty has generally been accepted as the most reliable authority on all statistical information relating to this war in Ireland. He says¹:

"Whereas, the present proportion of the British is as 3 to 11; but before the wars the proportion was less, viz. as 2 to 11; and then it follows that the number of British slain in eleven years was 112,000 souls, of which I guess two-thirds to have perished by war, plague and famine. So as it follows that 37,000 were massacred in the first year of tumults; so those who think 145,000 were so destroyed, ought to review the grounds of their opinion.

"It follows also that above 504,000 of the Irish perished and were wasted by the sword, plague, famine, hardship and banishment, between the 23d of October, 1641, and the same day, 1652.

"If Ireland had continued in peace for the said eleven years, then the 1,446,000 had increased by generation, in that time, 73,000 more, making in all 1,519,000, which were, by the said wars, brought, anno 1652, to 850,000; so that there were lost 669,000 souls, for whose blood somebody should answer both to God and the King.

"Anno 1653, debentures were freely and openly sold for four shillings and five shillings per pound. And twenty shillings of debenture, one with another, did purchase two acres of land, at which rate all the land of Ireland, if it were eight millions of profitable acres, might have been had for a million of money, which, anno 1641, was worth above eight millions.

"The cattle and stock was, anno 1641, worth about four millions; but anno 1652, the people of Dublin fetched meat from Wales, there being none here, and the whole cattle of Ireland not worth 500,000 pounds.

"Corn was then at fifty shillings per barrel, which is now and was anno 1641 under twelve shillings.

"The houses of Ireland, anno 1641, were worth two million and a half; but anno 1652, not worth £500,000.

¹ *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 1691, pp. 312-316.

“ The twenty years rent of all the land forfeited, by reason of the said rebellion, viz., since the year 1652 to 1673, hath not fully defrayed the charge of the English army in Ireland for the said time; nor doth the said rents, at this day do the same with half as much more or above £100,000 per annum more.”

Thus about one-third of the population of Ireland was lost, over half a million of the Irish disappeared (with one hundred and twelve thousand men of English stock) and all cattle, crops and supplies of every description, not needed by the English troops, were destroyed.

Over one hundred thousand young children, who were orphans or had been taken from their Catholic parents, were sent abroad into slavery in the West Indies, Virginia and New England, that they might thus lose their faith and all knowledge of their nationality, for in most instances even their names were changed.¹ During this period many thousands of young men were driven into exile, to enter the armies of European nations or to settle on the frontiers of the American Colonies, there to become a bulwark against the Indians for the protection of the more favored settlers on the coast.

Moreover, the cotemporary writers assert that between twenty and thirty thousand men and women, who had been taken prisoners, were sold in the American Colonies as slaves, with no respect to their former station in life.

The commissioners appointed to allot the land to the adventurers and soldiers and to settle the Irish in Connaught followed the example of Cromwell, who sold into slavery

¹ Every Irishman in Ireland within reach of English authority was at that time governed by the following law: “ An act that Irishmen dwelling in the counties of, etc. . . . go appareled like Englishmen and wear their beards after the English manner, swear allegiance, and take English surnames; which surnames shall be of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale; or colours, as white, black, brown; or arts or sciences, as Smith or Carpenter; or office, as cook, butler, &c., and it is enacted that he and his issue shall use this name under pain of forfeiting of his goods yearly, etc.” See Appendix, note 1.

the Irish prisoners. They directed the governors of different stations to seize all persons within their districts who were without any visible means of support and, when in sufficient numbers, they were to be placed in charge of agents for transportation to the American Colonies and the West Indies. At the close of the war it is not likely that any able-bodied men could have been found within reach of English influence while but few of the elder portion of the population could have survived the privations endured. But necessarily thousands of women, the wives and daughters of those who had fallen in battle or who, as prisoners of war, had been sold into slavery, were left destitute after their homes had been seized. Those of gentle blood were in all probability in greater number, being the least able to gain support or to adapt themselves to the new circumstances. These commissioners were directed to specify those "who were of an age to labour or if women were marriageable and not past breeding."

Frightful must have been the mental and physical suffering of these women thus "provided for" and it is not possible to realize in full what must have been the fate of many!

Prendergast writes¹:

"Ireland must have exhibited scenes in every part like the slave hunts in Africa. How many girls of gentle birth must have been caught and hurried to the private prisons of these men-catchers none can tell. We are told of one case. Daniel Connerly, a gentleman of Clare, was sentenced, in Morrison's presence, to banishment, in 1657, by Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, for harbouring a priest. 'This gentleman had a wife and twelve children. His wife fell sick and died in poverty. Three of his daughters, beautiful girls, were transferred to the West Indies, to an island called the Barbadoes; and there, if still alive (he says) they are miserable slaves.'"²

Prendergast continues³:

¹ P. 90.

² Morrison, p. 287.

³ P. 92.

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"As one instance out of many:—Captain John Vernon was employed by the Commissioners for Ireland into England, and contracted in their behalf with Mr. David Sellick and Mr. Leader under his hand, bearing date the 14th September, 1653, to supply them with two hundred and fifty women of the Irish nation above twelve years, and under the age of forty-five, also three hundred men above twelve years of age and under fifty, to be found in the county within twenty miles of Cork &c. . . . To transplant them into New England . . ." ¹ And (in 1655) "to secure a thousand young girls ('Irish wenches' is Secretary Thurloe's term) to be sent there also. . . . Henry Cromwell answered that there would be no difficulty, only that force must be used in taking them; and he suggested the addition of from 1500 to 2000 boys of from twelve to fourteen years of age. . . . We could well spare them," he adds, "and they might be of use to you; and who knows but it might be a means of making them Englishmen—I mean Christians?" ² . . . The number finally fixed were 1000 boys, and 1000 girls, to sail from Galway October, 1655, ³ the boys as bondsmen, probably, and the girls to be bound by other ties to these English soldiers in Jamaica. ⁴ . . . In the course of four years they had seized and shipped about 6400 Irish men and women, boys and maidens, when on the 4th of

¹ If we take into consideration the total number of "Puritan Fathers" in New England at this time, it would seem not improbable that these two hundred and fifty young Irish women, with many others sent over from Ireland about the same time, must have all eventually been transformed at least into Irish Puritans. If so, their progeny must in time have given quite a Hibernian tint to the pure blood of the descendants of the *Mayflower*. I have not seen that the New England writers who made our histories have noted these facts but probably they failed to do so on evidence that they were not "Scotch-Irish" women. See "Irish Emigration during the 17th and 18th Centuries," an address read by Thomas Addis Emmet, see *Proceedings American-Irish Historical Society*, vol. ii.

² Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 100.

⁴ "Muller, the painter at Berlin, was stated to be engaged in 1859, on a picture representing the seizing and transporting of these Irish girls to the West Indies. See the Newspapers of the 21st Feb., 1859."—Prendergast, pp. 90, 92. England became an expert afterward in this line. We may instance the removal by force of the French inhabitants in 1755 from Acadia, afterwards Nova Scotia. There were many thousands of Irish Evangelines, where in

March, 1656, all orders were revoked. . . . But at last the evil became too shocking and notorious, *particularly when these dealers in Irish flesh began to seize the daughters and children of the English themselves*, and to force them on board their slave ships; then, indeed, the orders, at the end of four years, were revoked."¹

The remnant of the Irish people who were driven to the west coast of Ireland was chiefly the gentry, or of the land-holder class whose property had been seized and confiscated, and from these people have come the greater part of the Catholic portion of the present Irish race. Those who were thus despoiled were as a class more refined and better educated than those who displaced them and their ancestors were a civilized and highly cultivated people hundreds of years before the progenitors of their English foes had yet lapsed from barbarism.

Very few of those whom Borlace termed "of the vulgar sort" were allowed to escape the sword, starvation or

every instance the forced separation was made even more brutal than the Acadians suffered, as the English never intended that any members of an Irish family should meet again.

¹ Prendergast has been accepted as an authority, yet the following statement was made in an English review of the first edition of this work: "We will only add that the old fable of the thousands of Irish girls being sent out into the worst kind of slavery in the West India Islands is paraded again [from Prendergast] in spite of its refutation by S. R. Gardiner. The exportation was proposed and authorized but never carried out."—*The Athenæum*, London, April 30, 1904.

The writer has not been able to procure a copy of the claimed refutation and consequently is unable to judge as to its historical value. A statement, however, resting on reliable contemporaneous authority and one so generally accepted as this has been, can not be rejected as a fable—without proof. It is simply a quibble to claim that as no Irish were sold in Jamaica, consequently that fact, if it be one, is proof that none were sent to Barbadoes or elsewhere. Prendergast claims to quote from the official documents for New England, and Lecky, as a later writer, does the same and accepts them as authentic. In addition, Hardiman states (*The History of the Town and County of Galway*, Dublin, 1820, page 134) that Stubbers sent no less than one thousand to the West Indies who were sold as slaves. We have already quoted from Cromwell's report after the siege of Drogheda, as authentic, that thirty persons at least who survived the massacre were "in safe custody for the Barbadoes."

slavery. Therefore the class in this country which we so often hear thoughtless and prejudiced if not ignorant people designate as "the low Irish" is to a great extent descended from those who were robbed less than three centuries ago and thus reduced to poverty, a condition in which they were afterwards kept by every means which could be devised by the British Government. Dean Swift has stated that if you wish to find the descendants of the old gentry "You must go to the Liberties or the Coal Quays."

Few realize the wonderful vitality of the Irish people and it seems almost incredible that the prolific and sturdy race of the present day has sprung from a stock which was so nearly exterminated within three hundred years. It is equally remarkable that no other people can claim to have come as a whole from a better race or from a class which at one time occupied so uniform a station in life. Through ignorance of the above facts it is sometimes stated in sarcasm that the Irish people all claim to have been descended from kings. In truth, it may be held that as a rule, among the humblest of these people, there are but few who could not claim by right a pedigree which was already illustrious long years before the oldest title now in the British Peerage was created. In this connection it is of no less interest that the reader should become familiar with other facts.

The disturbed condition of the country which had existed in Ireland for nearly fifty years previous to the invasion of Cromwell's army had undoubtedly deprived the poor classes of educational advantages and yet they were in no worse condition than the same class in England.*

The Catholic gentry and the upper class, however, were better educated as a rule in Ireland than those filling the same station of life in England¹ and this condition had been

¹ The celebrated Jesuit, Edmund Campion, who wrote his *Historie of Ireland* in 1581 has the following notice of the professors of law and physic in Ireland: "They speake latine like a vulgar language, learning in their common schools of leachcraft and law, &c." See also *Annals of the Four Masters*, etc., vol. v., p. 1397, note, A.D. 1530.

gained, notwithstanding England's grievous penal laws. Any one who has examined the Irish records of this period to the extent the writer has can vouch for the fact that there were comparatively few of Cromwell's officers who could do more than sign their names in the crudest manner. On the other hand the Irish sent to Connaught were people of education and refinement.

There was such constant intercourse between the west coast of Ireland and the Continent by means of the Irish smugglers, that little heed was paid to the threatened penalty for obtaining an education. The voyage was neither a long nor an expensive one and many worked their passage. In Paris and elsewhere there existed generally some special provision made by the European governments to aid in the gratuitous education of young Irishmen for the priesthood and otherwise. Catholics would naturally, under the circumstances, acquire sufficient knowledge of Latin to speak it and they received in addition the usual collegiate training. The Irish people have always been noted for their ready facility in acquiring a knowledge of languages and all who visited the Continent spoke French and Spanish as well. Therefore in Cromwell's day Irishmen of good birth generally spoke fluently Irish, Latin and one or more of the Continental languages, with often some knowledge of English. Many of them as "poor students" managed to travel to some extent and before returning home, in return for the education obtained, it was a frequent circumstance that they served for a time in a foreign army or in some civil capacity. Therefore, the statement made is true that the Irish gentlemen whose lands were confiscated and who were settled in Connaught were far superior in education and refinement to those of Cromwell's army who displaced them.

It is equally true, as stated, that the Irish peasantry of to-day are descended from a better ancestry on the average than any other known race.

The first Irish college founded in Paris was about 1580. An official report made to the House of Commons in 1818

showed that at the beginning of the French Revolution no less than 478 Irish students were being educated for the Irish priesthood in France, Spain and other European countries, in the different institutions which had been established during the existence of the Penal Laws in Ireland.

Through fear of the influence of the French Revolution and of a foreign education on those who were to serve as priests in Ireland, the English parliament was forced from self-interest in 1795, to make a grant of forty thousand dollars a year to have men for the priesthood educated at home, with the hope of thus gaining their loyalty in after life. From this paltry allowance as a beginning and after many vicissitudes the present Maynooth College was developed into a most important intellectual centre for ecclesiastical education, as it is at the present time.

"His religion was hatred to papists ; his fair fame was stained by faithlessness and cruelty, and he will be forever named in history the treaty breaker of Limerick, and the assassin of Glencoe."

John Mitchel

CHAPTER VI

WILFUL DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN LIFE IN IRELAND—
CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE UNDER CHARLES AND
JAMES—TREATY OF LIMERICK WITH WILLIAM OF
ORANGE—FREEDOM OF WORSHIP PLEDGED TO THE
CATHOLICS—WILLIAM VIOLATES HIS PROMISES—ANNE
AND THE GEORGES—CATHOLICS IN IRELAND WERE
NEVER INTOLERANT—THEIR LIBERALITY TOWARDS
THE QUAKERS, METHODISTS AND JEWS

HALLAM, after reviewing the suffering and martyrdom to which the Catholic portion of the Irish population had been subjected, was of the opinion in reference to the penal laws, that ¹: "To have exterminated the Catholics by the sword or expelled them, like the Moriscoes of Spain, would have been little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic."

All Irish writers agree that for years the English devoted their entire energy to accomplish this object but Hallam was evidently in ignorance of the true spirit manifested by his countrymen who failed in an undertaking which exhausted all human effort.

Mathew Carey states ²:

"There can be no doubt that the cause of humanity would have gained immensely had Henry the Second exterminated the whole nation, men, women and children, provided he had peopled

¹ *Constitutional History*, vol. iii., p. 401.

² *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, etc., p. 3.

the island with an English colony and imparted to them the benefit of English laws.

“ The population at the time of the invasion was probably not more than seven or eight hundred thousand, if so many. If exterminated their suffering would have terminated.

“ Whereas, for the five hundred years between the descent of the English and the final subjugation of the country under William the Third, the average waste of human life could not have been less than ten thousand,—but say only six thousand per annum amounting on the whole to five millions. But the loss of life can only be regarded as a secondary consideration. The havoc that war makes of human beings bears no comparison with the havoc it makes of human happiness, particularly when it brings in its train the plague and famine, as it so frequently did in Ireland. But even independent of plague and famine the sufferings of the survivors ordinarily far outweigh those of the wretches who fall a sacrifice to the horrors of war.”

Jonson thus described the situation in Ireland:

“ No age was spared, no sex nay no degree;
Not infants in the porch of life were free;
The sick, the old, who could but hope a day
Longer by nature's bounty, not let stay.
Virgins and widows, matrons and pregnant wives,
All died. 'T was crime enough that they had lives.
To strike but only those who could do hurt,
Was dull and poor.”

Men, women and children were indiscriminately slaughtered and hunted as wild beasts.

To kill an Irishman¹ on sight was not unlawful even in

¹ It was at one time only necessary *to imagine* an Irishman was going to or coming from a robbery. In the fifth year of Edward IV. it was enacted “ that it shall be lawful to all manner of men, that find any thieves robbing by day or by night, or going, or coming to rob, or steal, in or out, going or coming, having no faithful man of good name and fame in their company, in English apparel, upon any of the leige people of the King, that it shall be lawful to take and kill those, and cut off their heads, without any impeachment of our Sovereign Lord the King, His heirs, officers, or ministers, or of any other,

Cromwell's day and if the murderer was subjected to any punishment it was only in the payment of a small fine, in case the authorities had to take some cognizance of the crime. We shall see that even within a comparatively recent period the British Government took no action to stop the murder of Catholics, before the outbreak of 1798 in County Armagh and elsewhere, nor to punish those who were guilty. And we will show that shortly thereafter, in 1798, a commanding officer gave orders to shoot any Irishman met by chance on the way "*if he was supposed to be a rebel*" and not to take the trouble of bringing in any prisoners.

Before Cromwell had ever seen Ireland it seemed as if the ingenuity of man could not possibly have added another device to what had already been done to beggar and to exterminate the Irish race, yet the efforts of Cromwell and his soldiers were never excelled but by the Orangeman, as we shall see, under the fostering care of the younger Pitt in his determination to force the people into the uprising of 1798.

After the Restoration the condition of the Irish people was in no way improved either during the reign of Charles or James. In many respects they fared worse, through the cowardly and treacherous course of James II. who deserted the Irish after having induced them to support his claim as their rightful King. The Irish people had no cause to like any member of the Stuart family and did not give their

and of any head so cut in the County of Meath, that the cutters of the said head and his ayders there to him, cause the said head so cut off to be brought to the portresse of the Town of Trim, and the said portresse to put it on a stake or spear upon the Castle of Trim, and that the said portresse shall his writing, under the common seal of the said town, testifying the bringing of said head and his ayders for the same, for to distrain and levy by their own hands of every man having half a plough land in the said baronny, one penny, and every other man having one house and goods to the value of forty shillings, one penny, and of every other cottier having house and smoak, one half penny, etc."—J. B. Brown, *On Laws against Catholics*. With no penalty for murdering an Irishman, and with a reward to be gained without question, it was a common circumstance, probably, under this law to have imagined every man as "coming or going to rob," so that time and opportunity only were needed, in such cases, for the extermination of the Irish race.

adherence to James as Catholics, for he had caused no mitigation to be made of the severe Cromwellian laws which had remained in force against the practice of their religion.

As a man he was generally detested by them. But, to their misfortune, they were induced to give to him, as King of Ireland, the support of loyal subjects and as such they wore the British uniform and bore the British standard throughout, until the cause was lost in final defeat through James' cowardice at the battle of the Boyne. And yet so-called history has been so distorted that a general impression exists that the Irish fought at the battle of the Boyne *against* the English Government and this circumstance is constantly referred to by their countrymen, the "loyal Orangemen," as if it were to the discredit of the Irish to have fought against a man who at that time was nothing but a usurper. The occurrence is a rare one where so large a number of Irish people make the mistake of being on the side of the English Government, yet it is scarcely just, under the circumstances, that they should have suffered so long for an error in judgment.

The surrender of Limerick completed the subjugation of Ireland by William of Orange.

A civil and military treaty was executed between William, as the then representative of the English, and the Catholic portion of the Irish people. The first article of this treaty, as agreed upon, was:

" 1. The Roman Catholics of this Kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; *or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this Kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.*"

This treaty was signed by the Lords Justices of Ireland and by William and Mary under the Great Seal of England.

The Irish people in good faith carried out their obligations to the minutest detail. But William III. totally disregarded his word, as though it were a privilege vested in the position he held to ignore the most solemn pledge under all circumstances wherever the Irish people were a party to the contract. William's course, however, with the Irish was perfectly consistent with that attending his coming into England as a pretender and under the cloak of religion. In this respect he was guilty of as much deception to gain the crown as ever Cromwell practised for the same position and neither would have been successful if the majority of the English people had known their purposes at the beginning. Curry has written ¹:

“ King James was hardly ever noted for his duplicity of conduct; this can't be said of his competitor for the crown. The Prince of Orange, in a letter to the Emperor, acquainting him with his intended expedition into England, says—‘I assure your Imperial Majesty, by this letter, that whatever reports have been spread, and notwithstanding those, which may be spread for the future, *I have not the least intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his Kingdoms, and still less to make an attempt upon the crown.*’ And a little after:—‘I ought to intreat your Imperial Majesty to be assured, that *I will employ all my credit to provide, that the Roman Catholics of that Country may enjoy liberty of conscience, and be put out of fear of being persecuted on account of their religion.*’ ² Not only the Emperor but the Pope himself were cajoled by these deceitful assurances.”

William made not the slightest effort to improve the condition of the Irish Catholics but on the contrary he enforced the Penal Code rigidly and increased its severity by every means in his power. A man guilty of the treachery that William committed in ordering the brutal massacre of Macdonald and his clan at Glencoe, in 1692, several weeks after

¹ Note C., p. 346.

² Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 170, and Appendix.

they had surrendered their arms, had complied with every term and had even taken the oath of allegiance, would not hesitate at so small a matter as perjury.¹ His violation of the treaty of Limerick and his whole course towards the Irish people were consistent with the man and his "piety."

He hated the people of Ireland and as we shall see hereafter he destroyed, at an early period of his reign, their commerce and manufactories, so that he beggared the Protestants of the north, who had been most active in his cause.

Had William, as King of Ireland, mitigated even to a moderate degree the intolerance exercised against the Catholics the Irish people would have become loyal to the British Government. But he forced a spirit of bigotry into every relation with Ireland, so that even the most insignificant political circumstance of the eighteenth century, to be understood, must be considered in the light of a partisan either from a Catholic or Protestant standpoint.

The violation of the treaty of Limerick by William III. and the ignoring of its obligations by Anne and the Georges afterwards led to disastrous consequences. No other event or circumstance connected with Irish history has been productive of so much misery to the Irish people as this want of good faith on the part of the English Government.

By the "Rebellion" of 1798 the culmination was reached, after nearly a century of suffering, and the exhausted condition of the people rendered possible the crime perpetrated against Ireland by the so-called Union. No other people have ever suffered for so long a period with as yet no light for the future, so far as it rests with the British Government.

¹ An interesting item in this connection appeared in the *New York Herald*, May 30, 1907, from a cablegram to that paper, in which it was stated that on the previous day the original order for the massacre at Glencoe, dated Feb. 12, 1692, to Capt. Robert Campbell, and signed by R. C. Duncason giving instructions for the extermination of the Clan Macdonas was sold in one of the auction rooms of London for seven thousand dollars.

Scully states¹ in reference to the violation of the treaty of Limerick:

“Breach of engagement in this case was a violation of national honour which was one enormity—and it was a barefaced and violent appropriation of property without value given, which was another. It was at once dishonourable and dishonest. It was not only the refusing to give horse for horse, or drapery for corn, pursuant to solemn stipulation, but it was a seizure of all the goods for one’s own use, effected equally by fraud and violence and which left the aggrieved party not only without the power of redress, but without even the privilege of remonstrance. In a word, the violation of the Treaty of Limerick, under all the circumstances, stands forth in the page of history, an unique, an isolated and perfectly matchless specimen of national perfidy. It was at once the most flagitious and most protracted example of public faithlessness. The work of treachery formed a sort of periodical employment for villainous politicians throughout nearly a century. The commencement was in the time of the man who tendered half the tithes and Church lands to the Priests—and the last act of baseness was not witnessed until an advanced period of the reign of George the Third. The History of the Penal Code is the History of the Violation of the Treaty of Limerick—and this history a man cannot adequately relate in fewer pages than are necessary to describe the principal domestic transactions of *five reigns!*”

“After all forms of sanction were gone through with by all the authorities in Ireland the articles received the sign and seal of ratification from the hands of William and Mary in England and received this sign and this seal on the 24th of February 1692, that is about four months after the articles were finally agreed upon in Ireland. There is a certain document enrolled in chancery which contains these words:—

“‘And whereas the said city of Limerick, hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us—Now Know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, *that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter and thing there in contained.*’

¹ *Tracts on Ireland, Politically and Statistically*, Dublin, 1824, pp. 89–93.

“ This was enrolled on the 5th of April 1692 and no doubt it is to be seen to this day with the Great Seal of England attached to it—so that if the articles were not valid, it was not because there was not enough of ceremony and formality used in giving them due ‘ power and effect in law.’ ”

After Cromwell’s death the people of Ireland ceased to be harassed by indiscriminate robbery and general massacre but individual suffering among those belonging to the Catholic faith was general since the law gave no protection against the cruelties practised, under the slightest pretext, by any one entrusted with the briefest authority. For more than a century the country was governed through the influence of the descendants of the soldiers and adherents of William of Orange. They formed a small yet distinct portion of the Protestant, or Church of England, population and they were most intolerant to all who differed from them in either religion or politics. They became afterward more organized and we shall see that as Orangemen, with the protection of the English Government throughout, they were most active in rousing the people to outbreaks and were always as ready, under the command of British officers and with the most brutal cruelty, to crush out all resistance. We shall also have occasion hereafter to consider at some length the part taken by the Orangemen in forcing the “ rebellion ” of the people in 1798 and in persecuting the Catholics as well as the Presbyterians under the plea of maintaining “ Protestant ascendancy as according to law established.”

The laws passed under Elizabeth, James, Charles and Cromwell for the persecution of the Catholics in Ireland were brutal in the extreme. Yet under William and Mary they were amended in a merciless manner and were perfected by Queen Anne’s Government. During the reign of the Georges these penal laws were rigidly enforced until toward the close of the American Revolution, when a slight mitigation was gained. While the Volunteer Movement was active, a portion at least of the Irish people had brief control of Irish affairs.

As a result of Lecky's investigations he states the following¹:

“Among the Catholics at least, religious intolerance has not been a prevailing vice, and those who have studied closely the history and the character of the Irish people can hardly fail to be struck with the deep respect for sincere religion in every form, which they have commonly evinced. Their original conversion to Christianity was probably accompanied by less violence and bloodshed than that of any equally considerable nation in Europe; and in spite of the fearful calamities that followed the Reformation, it is a memorable fact that not a single Protestant suffered for his religion in Ireland during all the period of the Marian persecution in England. The treatment of Bedell during the savage outbreak of 1641, and the Act establishing liberty of conscience passed by the Irish Parliament of 1689 in the full flush of the brief Catholic ascendancy under James the Second, exhibit very remarkably this aspect of the Irish character; and it was displayed in another form scarcely less vividly during the Quaker Missions, which began towards the close of the Commonwealth, and continued with little intermission for two generations.

“This curious page of Irish history is but little known. The first regular Quaker meeting in Ireland was established in Lurgan by an old Cromwellian soldier named William Edmundson about 1654. In the following year the new creed spread widely in Youghall and in Cork, and speedily extended to Limerick and Kilkenny. George Fox himself came to Ireland in 1669. It was at Cork that William Penn was drawn into the Quaker community by the preaching of a Quaker named (Thomas) Loe, and a swarm of missionaries came over from England advocating their strange doctrines with a strange fanaticism.

“The experience of Wesley half a century later was very similar.² He certainly found more eager and more respectful listeners among the Catholics of Ireland than in most parts of England, and he has more than once in his *Journal* spoken in terms of

¹ Vol. i., pp. 408, 411. This historical writer, who terms the English attempt to exterminate the Catholics of Ireland as the “savage outbreak of 1641” by the Irish people, cannot be accused of bias in any statement made by him in their favor.

² Lecky, vol. i., p. 411.

warm appreciation of the docile and tolerant spirit he almost everywhere encountered.”¹

Lecky also asserts in the same connection :

“ No feature in the social history of Ireland is more remarkable than the almost absolute security which the Protestant clergy, scattered thinly over wild Catholic districts, have usually enjoyed during the worst periods of organized crime and the very large measure of respect and popularity they have almost invariably commanded, whenever they abstained from interfering with the religion of their neighbours.”

Mr. Adler, the chief Rabbi of the Jews, stated in 1871 at a large public meeting held in Dublin and reported in the *Jewish Chronicle*, July 21st of that year: “ He had long been anxious for many reasons to visit this beautiful country ; and amongst others—because it was the only country in which his ancestors had not been persecuted.”

From the earliest Christian date the Jews received the fullest degree of sufferance from the Irish Catholics and a secure asylum was afforded all of that race throughout a long period, when in England they were subjected to most grievous persecution.

Having shown that the Irish Catholics have always been tolerant as to the religious views held by others it may be claimed that this spirit of liberality has existed as a characteristic of the race ; in proof whereof and as a pertinent fact, the claim is justly made that Christianity was introduced into Ireland without bloodshed and that in no other country was this accomplished in like manner.

¹ It was in a good-natured controversy with Wesley, who objected to the belief in Purgatory, that the Rev. Arthur O’Leary answered : “ That he could have his way and might go farther and fare worse.”

*"Are then the wrongs of past times never to be forgotten in Ireland?
Yes, when they are worthily remembered in England."*

Aubrey De Vere

CHAPTER VII

THE "VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT" IN ULSTER — ENGLAND GRANTS CONCESSIONS TO THE IRISH PEOPLE AFTER THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND ACKNOWLEDGES IRELAND TO BE A DISTINCT KINGDOM — EFFORT OF THE PRESBYTERIANS OF ULSTER TO GAIN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR THE CATHOLICS — WHO WERE THE "SCOTCH-IRISH" ? — INDUSTRIES OF THE NORTH OF IRELAND DESTROYED BY WILLIAM — EMIGRATION OF OPERATORS TO FRANCE — THEY ESTABLISHED THE DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES NOW EXISTING IN THAT COUNTRY — BEGINNING OF THE ORGANIZATION OF "THE UNITED IRISHMEN"

THE "Volunteer Movement" in Ireland had its origin among the Presbyterians of the North and it was confined chiefly to those of that denomination, with a few individuals who belonged to the Established Church. The object of the movement at first was to provide for the defence of the country against an expected invasion of the French.

As the English Government was unable to furnish troops for the purpose of defence, the non-Catholic portion of the people of Ulster were allowed to enroll themselves as a military organization and arms were furnished them. When the pressing need for the organization ceased and the attention of the members became less occupied with military matters the desire became general for obtaining certain measures of reform which had become necessary for the future prosperity of the country.

On December 28, 1781, the first Ulster regiment assembled at Armagh under the command of Lord Charlemont. Certain resolutions were passed as to the necessity for rooting out from Parliament the corruption and the influence exerted by the English Court. To advance this object a meeting was called, to be held at Dungannon on the following February 15, 1782, of delegates from the different Volunteer corps of Ulster.

Delegates from 143 corps of Ulster Volunteers, constituting twenty-five thousand armed men, assembled at the appointed time and organized themselves as a deliberating body. The first action taken was the passage, by a unanimous vote, of a resolution that “a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights.”

A full discussion was then entered upon as to the general state of the country. Newenham,¹ who was probably present at this meeting, has furnished the following epitome:

“On the 15th of February, 1782; at a meeting of the representatives of 143 corps of Volunteers, at Dungannon, in the province of Ulster, where the Protestants and Protestant Dissenters are most numerous, it was resolved, that a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that Kingdom, was unconstitutional, illegal and a grievance; that the power exercised by the privy councils of both Kingdoms, under colour or pretence of the law of Poynings, was unconstitutional and a grievance; that a mutiny-bill, not limited in point of duration, from session to session, was unconstitutional and a grievance; that the ports of Ireland were, by right, open to all foreign countries not at war with the King; and that any burden thereupon or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, was unconstitutional, illegal and a grievance. The representatives of these volunteers also declared, that they held the right of private judgement, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as themselves; and that therefore as men, as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants

¹ *A View of the Natural, Political and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland*, London, 1809, p. 195.

they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and that they conceived the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.”

Other measures were determined upon but it is not necessary to enter into detail. The action taken by this body assembled at Dungannon had a remarkable effect in uniting throughout the country all classes in a demand upon the English Government for certain reformatory measures deemed necessary for the future prosperity of the country.

The British Government was yet in too exhausted a condition, after the close of the American Revolution, to refuse and concessions were reluctantly granted; but, as subsequent events prove, there existed a secret reservation on the part of the English ministers to ignore the pledge of the Government as soon as the latter became strong enough to do so.

According to Lecky¹: “Lord North himself described the concessions to the Irish as ‘resumable at pleasure.’”

The chief concession gained in 1782 was the acknowledgment of the Irish kingdom and the independence of the Irish Parliament from the influence of the English Government; thus Home Rule was obtained by a people essentially united in favor of general reform and religious tolerance.

The act of the British Parliament was as follows:

“Be it declared and enacted by the King’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said right claimed by the people of Ireland, to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom, in all cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in that Kingdom, decided in His Majesty’s Courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence, *shall be and is hereby declared to be established and ascertained forever and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable.*”²

¹ Vol. ii., p. 251.

² *British Statute*, 1783, 23d George III., chap. xxviii.

The Kingdom of Ireland, as claimed by the Irish people, was by this act acknowledged an independent State, free from English authority, as "*hereby declared to be established and ascertained forever and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable.*" Could it be possible for any nation in good faith to give a more binding pledge, whereby its honor was guaranteed forever by all State authority? Yet England, with her total disregard for all obligation of honor, (which trait has been so frequently pointed out in her relation at least with Ireland) as usual violated her pledge when it was to her interest to do so. Notwithstanding that the Irish Parliament had become corrupt through the influence of the English Government, and its members were from a minority of the people, they were Irishmen and were never totally oblivious to the best interests of their country. Ireland, therefore, began to prosper as soon as the members of her Parliament were left comparatively free. Grattan stated in 1800:

"I value the Parliamentary constitution, by the average of its benefit; and I affirm that the blessings procured by the Irish Parliament in the last twenty years are greater than all the blessings offered by the British Parliament to Ireland for the last century—greater even than the mischiefs inflicted upon Ireland by the British Parliament—greater than all the blessings procured by these Parliaments for their own country within that period."

But the Irish Parliament was so constituted that only Protestants or those who conformed to the Established Church could occupy a seat and this small minority of the population was almost entirely in favor of the English Government. Moreover, the system by which its members were returned was necessarily a corrupt one, as about thirty private individuals could return a sufficient number of members to form a majority in the House of Commons and about one hundred persons could command a two-thirds vote of the whole.¹

¹ The existence of an English Parliament was always limited in duration and frequently a new election was called for with a change of ministry. But in

Mr. Arthur O'Connor was a member of the Irish Parliament about this time and, after his arrest several years later with Mr. Thos. Addis Emmet and Dr. McNeven, who formed the Directory of the United Irishmen, he was examined August 16, 1798, before the secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons and gave the following testimony¹:

“*O'Connor.* The lowest societies of the Union conversed freely of the corruption, the usurpation and venality of parliament. While I was a member of the House of Commons, you know the frequent conversation among the members was, How much has such an one given for his seat? From whom did he purchase? Has not such a one sold his borough? Has not such a lord bought it? Has not such a peer so many members in this house? Was not such a member with the lord lieutenant's secretary, to insist on some greater place or pension? Did not the secretary refuse it? Has he not gone into the opposition? These, and such like facts, are as well known to the lower classes of the Union as to ourselves.

“*A Member of the Committee.* Mr. O'Connor is perfectly right; I have heard the lower classes of the people talk in that style.

“*O'Connor.* The people are conscious you are self-constituted, and not their delegates; men who have no other object in view but to advance your own individual interests.

“*A Member of the Committee.* That we are a parcel of placemen and pensioners?

“*O'Connor.* Exactly so.”

Dr. McNeven, before the same Committee, testified²:

“As the Parliament now exists, with two-thirds of it (if I may be allowed to speak frankly) the property of individuals in the Ireland it was different, so that there could be no special change during any one reign. After once that body had been “packed,” so as to be subservient, it was only necessary to fill when needed the vacancies caused by death. In the reign of George II. the Irish Parliament remained in existence for thirty-three years.

¹ *The United Irishmen, their Lives and Times*, etc., by Dr. R. R. Madden, Dublin, 1858, 2d series, p. 321.

² *Pieces of Irish History*, etc., New York, 1807, p. 248.

pay of the British Cabinet, the connection is indeed injurious to Ireland, and it is rendered so by the parliament; but if we had a free parliament, there might be a federal connection advantageous to both countries."

For a short period the Irish Parliament even as constituted, through the efforts of a few patriotic members, made some response to the demands of the people. But eventually by the influence and intrigue of the British Ministry no radical reform could be brought about, yet publicly the English Government seemed to favor the wishes of the people. The cloven foot, however, was only concealed during England's difficulties, so long as she was pressed for funds and provisions and needed Irishmen to recruit her army and navy.

The movement to obtain from the English Government a repeal of the Penal laws, which so grievously burdened the Catholics of Ireland, originated, as has been stated, with the Presbyterians or Dissenters of Ulster. While they suffered much in common with the Catholics, their efforts were certainly prompted by a true Christian spirit. That they did not succeed was due to the fiendish and crafty policy of the English Government in exciting religious enmity among the people and in finally forcing the "Rebellion" of 1798 that the "Union" might be the more readily accomplished.

It may be proudly claimed that at no time has individual patriotism for the welfare of Ireland ever rested on a religious basis. The Presbyterians and the Protestants have in the past furnished the majority of the leaders and, while the Catholics as a whole have been for centuries in opposition to the English Government, instances have not been wanting where among them individuals have sold their birth-right and proved traitors to their country."¹

¹ Thomas Reynolds, a Catholic and a man of means, who had been fully trusted by his associates, gave to the Government the first important information which led to the arrest of the leaders in the movement of 1798. So long as Irish history exists he will be known as "Reynolds the Informer" and the malediction of his countrymen for all time will be associated with his name.

Religious bigotry in Ireland after Cromwell's day was confined chiefly to the descendants of the followers of William of Orange, who ultimately became known as the Orangemen, a small but select body among the Protestants with whom religion seemed to have been used as a cloak for political purposes. Notwithstanding their limited number, they have been prominently in favor with the English Government and have secretly been protected by it under all circumstances in return for services rendered which would not always bear publicity. They have been the demons of discord in Ireland and have been so barbarous in their cruel treatment of the Catholics, whenever they have had an opportunity, that it will be necessary hereafter to devote considerable space in which to do them justice.

The Presbyterians of Ulster, who lived at times amicably with their Catholic neighbors, are frequently termed "Scotch-Irish" by those who are ignorant of their origin. The term, which is of recent and American origin, has been generally used to designate a class of people who, as Protestants and in consequence of their religious belief, were thus supposed to escape the discredit of being Irish, although they and their ancestors may have lived in Ulster for generations. As the term Scotch-Irish is so frequently used and the people so termed are so often confused with the Presbyterian descendants from the Cromwellian soldiers who came into Ulster

Until recently Reynolds has been charged with much now known to have been the work of Samuel Turner, a gentleman by birth and education, a barrister in Dublin, and a Protestant, who was in close relations of friendship with almost every one he betrayed.

He was one of the leaders in 1798 who was confined in Fort George, Scotland, and was doubtless sent there by the Government as a spy. So well did he keep up appearances that he was never suspected by those who had been betrayed by him, and he held their friendship until his death. Fitzpatrick's *Secret Service under Pitt*, shows him to have been cold-blooded, and a consummate rascal. It is, however, to Reynolds' credit that, while he kept the Government informed as to the details of the movement, few individuals, as is now known, suffered from his information, while Turner, on the other hand, hounded his friends to their death.

at a later period, it will be necessary to make a digression and show who they were.

James I. drove the Catholics out of Ulster, many of whom were of Scotch descent, and settled up the country with people from the upper portion of England and from along the border-lands of Scotland; these have since been called the Scotch-Irish. Few of them, however, could lay the slightest claim to a Scotch origin except in comparatively rare instances by the mere accident of their birth. What remained of the old Scotch stock had been to a great extent driven into the Highlands and those left in the Lowlands had little sympathy for the English. This was due to the fact that the original Scotch and Irish were of the same race and, with constant intercourse between them, the Highlander was in full sympathy with his relative in Ireland who had been displaced by the English. The truth is that many of James's settlers in Ulster were from the English who overran the north of Ireland during the reign of Queen Elizabeth and were afterwards induced to take part in the wars between England and Scotland. They, therefore, simply returned without having gained anything of the Scotch element, which they despised. Moreover, many of these settlers at that time came from along the border counties of England and were of such a mongrel race that it would be difficult by their names to determine their nationality; but they held in common with their co-settlers as cordial a hatred of the Scotch.¹

If the descendants of these people are "Scotch-Irish," the question becomes one of interest to determine at what period in their development did they, who to begin with were of a mongrel race of English and foreigners, cease to be Anglo-Irish, Irish-Scotch, Scotch-Irish, and finally reach, as it is supposed they did, the honor of being Irishmen; then if they emigrated to America or elsewhere as Irishmen, how or where did they acquire the Scotch element again?²

¹ See Appendix, note 2.

² We shall show hereafter that the greater portion of the Presbyterians of

In consequence of the hatred of William III. for the Irish people he caused the woollen manufactures and other industries of the north of Ireland to be destroyed, as we will show when considering the commercial condition of the country. The "Scotch-Irish" manufacturers were chiefly beggared and many thousands of them emigrated to France and established in that country woollen and silk and other industries which for nearly two hundred years have been a constant menace to England's trade. The "Scotch-Irish," then, emigrated to France or sought elsewhere on the Continent to better their fortunes and Ulster became again gradually settled up from England and by Catholics, Presbyterians and Protestant Irish from different parts of Ireland.

There remains little doubt that after the woollen industries of the north had been broken up early in the eighteenth century, the so-called "Scotch-Irish" emigrated in large numbers with their families to the Continent. To supply their place many of the descendants from Cromwell's officers passed into Ulster from the inland counties of Ireland, where they had been settled on a smaller proportion of land, with more bills of indebtedness for their services, and consequently had not fared in many cases as well as the common soldier. These Presbyterians had moved into Ulster with a number of Catholics who had begun to prosper by leasing large grazing tracts in different parts of Ireland. The ancestors of these Cromwellian emigrants had come as a rule from a better class of Englishmen, namely the gentry in the midland counties of England. After their Ulster settlement and after having engaged in different forms of industry, the English Government did everything to destroy their prosperity, which caused them to detest the authors of their suffering. The English Toleration Act, with the usual inconsistency of that Government, was not applied to Ireland and for a long period the non-conformists were harassed in their efforts to worship according to the dictates of their Ulster were descended from Cromwell's soldiers after the so-called "Scotch-Irish" had emigrated to France.

consciences. The sacramental test, embodied in the "Anti-Popery Bill" of 1704, was often exacted of them by the parish ministers of the Established Church. As they were unable to take the oath of supremacy they were barred, in common with the Catholics, from holding any official position and they were subjected to constant annoyance, since it was even held by the ecclesiastical courts that their marriages were irregular unless the ceremony was conducted by a member of the Established Church. They were also obliged to pay tithes and suffered many other privations in common with the Catholics. After suffering for several generations from restrictions and adversity many were forced to emigrate to the American Colonies. These Presbyterians from Ulster, who were not "Scotch-Irish," became prominent during our Revolution and served in the army, in the navy or in the Continental Congress, where they aided to a great extent in formulating our unique system of federal and state governments. The descendants of those who remained in Ireland were nearly all United Irishmen in 1798 and we shall see that they were the first active advocates of religious tolerance for the Catholics.

The writer has elsewhere stated¹:

"The Presbyterians who settled in the North of Ireland, after the early part of the eighteenth century, had come chiefly from the central portion of England and as a rule they represented the better element among the new settlers. They, like Cromwell, hated the Scotch and would never have accepted the term '*Scotch-Irish*' for themselves. After the Restoration these people, in common with the Catholics, were only tolerated as non-conformists and were not allowed by the Protestant authorities to take any part in public affairs. Owing to adversity these people became in time more tolerant towards their fellow-sufferers, the Catholic portion of the population, and were finally moulded into a remarkably fine and self-reliant type of men.

¹ "Irish Emigration during the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the American-Irish Historical Society*, vol. ii.

Those who emigrated to the colonies were well fitted to help lay the foundation of the American Republic and those who remained behind proved sturdy patriots. A little more than one hundred years ago they originated in Belfast the United Irishmen movement and they were the first to make the demand for religious tolerance in Ireland, that their Catholic countrymen might be free to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience."

For two hundred years past Ulster has been gradually becoming less Protestant, so that at the present time about one-half of the population belong to the Catholic faith and but a small proportion of the Protestants are Orangemen, notwithstanding the fact that this arrogant faction has succeeded in establishing abroad a different impression.

Thomas Addis Emmet has represented clearly the condition in Ireland towards the close of the eighteenth century. He was a member of the Church of England and consequently his version in favor of the Catholics and of the conditions existing in Ireland must be accepted as one free from both prejudice and exaggeration.

He wrote ¹:

"Religion may be said to have separated Ireland into two people, the Protestants and Catholics; the Protestants were divided into the members of the Church of England and the Dissenters. Both of these had been in their origin foreign colonists, introduced and enriched in consequence of long continued massacres and warfares, of confiscations and new grants of ousters under the Popery Laws, and acquisitions as Protestant discov-

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, etc., New York, 1807, pp. 9-13. See Appendix, note 3. Lecky's criticism of this work is as follows (vol. iv., p. 254): "His writings and his examination before the Privy Council are singularly interesting and instructive as showing the process by which a humane, honorable and scrupulous man could become the supporter of a movement which was the parent of so many crimes." The criticism of Mr. Emmet's political course was no doubt just from Mr. Lecky's standpoint but of less interest in this connection than his estimation of the value of Mr. Emmet's political writings, from which we will make frequent quotations.

erers ; by all of which the original Irish had been systematically dispossessed or extirpated, and the dependence of their country on another state permanently secured.

“ The members of the Church of England, not exceeding one-tenth of the people, possessed almost the whole government and five-sixths of the landed property of the nation, which they inherited by odious and polluted titles. For a century they had nearly engrossed the profits and patronage of the Church, the law, the revenue, the army, the navy, the magistracy and the corporations of Ireland, deriving their superiority and consequence from the interweaving of the ecclesiastical establishment with the civil authority of the country. Independent of religious animosity, their desire to retain what they had possessed made them regard with aversion and mistrust the Catholics, whom they had oppressed, and from whom they dreaded a resumption of property, should any change render the measure practicable; and their eagerness to monopolize what they so largely enjoyed excited their jealousy of the Dissenters, who shared with them somewhat of the emoluments of power. Conscious also of their natural weakness, they saw their only security in the superiority and assistance of England; to the aggrandizement of which they were therefore uniformly devoted. . . .

“ The Dissenters, who were originally settled for the most part in Ulster, regarded no doubt with filial affection the country from whence they came, and with contempt and dislike the people whom they displaced—they also detested Catholics with the fanatic fervour which characterized the early disciples of Knox and Calvin. Their descendants, however, possessing few overgrown landed properties and being mostly engaged in manufactures and trade, did not feel dependence on England as essential to their existence and happiness. . . . The predilection for their native country being therefore checked by no extraneous causes, they gradually ceased to consider themselves in any other light than Irishmen—they became anxious for Ireland’s welfare and sensible to its wrongs. Lovers of liberty, and almost republicans from religion, from education and early habits, they sympathized with the Americans, when that kindred people was struggling to shake off the British yoke. . . . They were even suspected of aiming at separation from England.

“The Catholics were the descendants of the primitive Irish, or of those early settlers whom the Reformation had identified with the aboriginal inhabitants. While in the violence of contest, the adherents of the Pope everywhere regarded with hatred and horror the sects that had separated from his church, unquestionably the Irish Catholic strongly participated in the common feeling; but they were rapidly disappearing from Ireland as in the rest of Europe. Those men, however, still continued estranged from their Protestant countrymen by causes much more substantial than religious bigotry. They were nearly three-fourths of the population, and instead of enjoying the estates of their forefathers, they scarcely possessed one-fifteenth of the landed property of the kingdom.¹ To this state they had been reduced by various causes which might have been forgotten in the lapse of years, but that one still remained in the code called Popery Laws, which by its continued operation perpetuated the remembrance of the past, excited resentment of the present, and apprehension for the future. Nor was that the only injury they experienced from these laws, which undermined the affections, controlled the attachments, restrained the industry, closed the prospects, prohibited the education, and punished the religion of those against whom they were enacted.

“The effect of such a complicated system of persecution and oppression upon its victims may be easily conceived. The peasantry were reduced to a lamentable state of physical wretchedness and moral degradation. Even the gentry were broken down; and, though individually brave, and characteristically national, they seemed devoid of collective courage and political spirit. The Catholics loved Ireland with enthusiasm, not only as their country, but as the partner of their calamities—to the actual interposition of England, or to its immediate influence, they ascribed their sufferings, civil and religious, with those of their forefathers. Hereditary hatred therefore, and sense of injury, had always conspired with national pride and patriotism,

¹ Mr. Emmet might have stated that England, under one pretext and another, had confiscated the equivalent of nearly the whole of Ireland no less than three times during the previous two hundred years and this land was taken almost entirely from the Catholics.

to make them adverse to the country, and enemies to British connection.”

The Catholic portion of the population of Ireland has long been charged with turbulency and with presenting the only obstacle to the grateful acceptance of the paternal rule of England. And yet it is a singular circumstance that in every outbreak of the Irish people, since the time of Cromwell, the great majority of the leaders have not been Catholics but Protestants or Presbyterians.

The Rev. Dr. William Steel Dickson, one of the leaders of the United Irishmen in 1798, and a Presbyterian clergyman from the north of Ireland, states,¹ in regard to the nineteen other leaders confined with him in Fort George, Scotland:

“Nor is it unworthy of notice, that the number of Catholics, Presbyterians and Protestants (Church of England) in our little colony were an inverse ratio of the number of each denomination in Ireland at large. Perhaps the proportion may be stated as follows, though not correctly:

“Catholics, two-thirds of the people—Prisoners, 4.

“Presbyterians, more than one-fifth of the people—Prisoners, 6.

“Protestants, less than one-seventh of the people—Prisoners, 10.²

“From this statement, a fact truly anomalous, two presumptions arise: First. As a majority of the prisoners were deemed principal authors and promoters of the Irish Insurrection, and, as only one-fifth of the said prisoners were Catholics; the represen-

¹ *A Narrative of the Confinement and Exile of Wm. Steel Dickson, D.D.*, Dublin, 1812, p. 111.

² The terms Catholic and Protestant are used elsewhere by the writer in the same sense that the Rev. Dr. Dickson evidently applies them—in the contradistinction—and as the terms were evidently understood everywhere at that time. It is of very recent date that the “Roman” Catholics and the “Anglican” Catholics have been thus nominally associated. Formerly those who conformed to the “English Church as by law established” were very zealous in monopolizing the distinction of being “Protestants.” The Presbyterians at that time laid no claim to the term and were known among Protestants as Dissenters from the “Established Church of England.”

tation of that insurrection as a 'Popish Rebellion,' cannot be confided in *as the very truth*; Secondly. That the Protestant Ascendency in Ireland, however pre-eminent in splendid titles, lucrative offices, and overwhelming power, has as little pre-eminence to boast of in loyalty as in numbers, where *loyalty is left to provide for itself.*"

A "Volunteer Convention" was held in 1784, which consisted of non-Catholics. The delegates from Belfast urged the admission of Catholics, with equal rights, that they might take part in the movement about to be initiated for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary reform, but the proposition was not adopted and but little advance was made for several years in overcoming the religious prejudice which had so long existed among a certain number of Protestants.

The progress of the French Revolution, however, became in time one of common interest to both the Presbyterians and Catholics of the north.

In this connection Mr. Emmet states¹:

"Another circumstance seems also to draw nearer together the Catholics and Dissenters, and to excite in them a common admiration of the revolution; an identity of opinions and interests on the subject of tythes; which had for many years been the topic of violent discussion at home, and were recently abolished in France. Nowhere, perhaps on earth, were tythes more unpopular, and considered by the people as a greater grievance, than in Ireland. They went to the support of an established clergy that preached a religion that was adopted by only one-tenth of the nation, and which was not merely disbelieved, but considered as heresy, by three-fourths of those that were forced to pay them.² They had been the frequent subject of partial insurrection, and

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, p. 14.

² In a recent issue of the *Dublin Freeman's Journal* a statement of Dr. Bridges is given in relation to this tax: "Now that the Irish Protestant Establishment has been swept away it is easy for us to see that no tax more hateful has ever been levied on a European population than this tax on labor, levied on struggling farmers and laborers for the support of an alien religion. But hateful as it was everywhere, to Ulster Presbyterians as to Catholics, it was in

were always the fertile source of general discontent; so that the French reformers, by abolishing them, exceedingly increased the numbers, and awoke the energy of their Irish admirers.

“The example of France, in not permitting disqualifications to result from any profession of religious belief, impressed itself most powerfully on the minds of many Protestants. They felt not only the justice, but the wisdom of liberality, and became convinced that a similar measure, with an entire oblivion of all religious feuds and jealousies, was necessary to the peace and prosperity of Ireland. Some of them, considered more maturely the arguments respecting the admission of Catholics to the rights of citizenship, which had been fruitlessly urged in 1784, during the exertions for amending the parliamentary representations, and deriving instruction from the defeat of that measure to which they were ardent friends, wished to array the members of that religion also in support of reform, by giving them an interest in its success. If it were combined with Catholic emancipation, and that its other Protestant advocates could be induced to forego their sectarian prejudices, the chance in favour of both objects would be infinitely increased by the union. Reform would be again raised from the neglect into which it had fallen since its rejection by parliament, and would derive additional consequence from a fresh reinforcement of popular support. The Catholics would count among their friends, those whose hostility had hitherto appeared to be the chief obstacle to their relief; and the two sects being engaged in pursuit of the same object, their

the South of Ireland that its full oppressiveness was felt and resented. In some places it exceeded the rack rent of the land. A case is recorded where eleven acres of land, let for a guinea per acre, paid £14 in tithes (about \$6.50 per acre). The details of one of the cases (*Ryan vs. Greene*), cited by Grattan from the records of the Vicar’s Court at Cashel, will serve as a sample of the rest. The farm consisted of 21½ Irish acres and it was tithed as follows: Potatoes, 4¾ acres were estimated to produce 250 stone at 6 pence, were tithed at £1 13/6; pasture, 10 acres, valued at 30 tons of hay, tithed at £6 16/6. The total tithe was thus £16 8/9, or rather more than 15s. (about \$4.00) per acre. It will be seen that the potatoes had paid in this case £1 2/4 in tithes, or about 13s. 5d. per English acre.” This unjust tax was computed in 1838 as a land tax paid by the landlord, with a deduction of one quarter to cover the cost of collection. But for the people at large as a means of lessening taxation, it has since proved but the shifting of a burden from one shoulder to the other.

former distrust and animosities would vanish before their common interest.

“ The first step towards the accomplishment of this plan, was naturally taken by the Dissenters of the north, whose habits of public discussion, ardent love of liberty, and greater independence on government, emboldened them to begin. They felt also that, as their forefathers had been so pre-eminently instrumental in oppressing the Catholics, justice as well as policy, required them to make the earliest advances towards conciliation and union. Before that time the violent prejudices, vaunted superiority and repulsive arrogance of the Protestants in general, had placed such a gulph of separation between the followers of the two religions, that the Catholics the most enlightened and attached to liberty, despaired of effecting anything in conjunction with their countrymen; and however reluctantly, were forced to purchase occasional mitigations of the penal code by dependency on the court and humble solicitations at the Castle. But it is unquestionable, that when that body saw itself likely to be supported by a considerable portion of the Protestants, it manifested a perfect willingness to make common cause.”

In accordance with the suggestions first made by Theobald Wolfe Tone the people now began to form themselves into Clubs or Associations, for the obtaining of greater facility to discuss openly among themselves different public measures; but as yet no secret societies had been formed. The first organization as United Irishmen was formed at Belfast, the second in Dublin shortly after and soon they became more widespread, especially at the north. In their declaration they stated, as their “heavy grievance,” that they had “no national government but were ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen”; and, as its “effectual remedy,” they pledged themselves to endeavor by all due means “to procure a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament, including Irishmen of every religious persuasion.”

The first clause in the Constitution of the United Irishmen, formed at Belfast in 1791, was:

"1st. This society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principle of civil, political and religious liberty."

Mr. Emmet continues¹:

"Such were the measures adopted by a few men, of inconsiderable rank and of no particular importance in society, to subvert the exclusive principles, both constitutional and religious, which had for ages characterized the Irish Government; and, when the difficulties they encountered are considered, it is almost astonishing that the success of their exertions should ever have entitled them to the historian's notice. In the first place they had to surmount the prejudices and suspicions of different sects, which length of time and tradition had almost interwoven with their respective creeds. This they hoped to accomplish, and they succeeded to a great degree, by bringing Catholics and Protestants together with societies and familiar intercourse, that mutual knowledge might remove mutual distrust; but the hatred of the lowest orders of Catholics and Dissenters, was, in many places still violent and inveterate; so that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the United Irishmen, it was some time subsequently fanned into active hostilities."

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, p. 19.

"It is plain the object of the ascendancy was not so much to convert Catholics to Protestantism as to convert the goods of Catholics to Protestant use."

John Mitchel

CHAPTER VIII

“PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY” AND PENAL LAWS—WHAT THE CATHOLICS SUFFERED—CONTINUED EFFORTS BY THE PRESBYTERIANS AND A PORTION OF THE PROTESTANTS TO HAVE THESE LAWS ABOLISHED—COURSE OF THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH SECRETLY EXCITED BIGOTRY AND STRIFE AMONG THE PEOPLE—A FAR-REACHING AND BLIGHTING POLICY—PITT’S METHODS FOR FORCING THE SO-CALLED REBELLION OF 1798

ALREADY the agents of both the English and Irish Governments were at work secretly exciting the religious prejudices of the lower classes against each other and were thus endeavoring by every means possible to weaken the growing influence of the United Irishmen. Yet in public their agents seemed to be acting in good faith in favor of the public movements and this deception was continued, since the time had not yet arrived when the Government could give the crushing blow. The fact that the Government did not in reality favor either Parliamentary reform or the removal of the Penal laws for the Catholics is made evident by the activity of those who were always friendly to the policy of the English Government. This is shown by Mr. Emmet’s statement ¹:

“On the other hand, the friends of what has since been called the Protestant Ascendancy had taken considerable alarm, and declared themselves against the Catholic claims and measures with the utmost violence and passion. As they were almost entirely members of the Established Church, in possession or

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, p. 24.

expectation of all the exclusive benefits derived from their religion, and in general the uniform supporters of administration, they were either actually members of Parliament, or at least more peculiarly connected with that body. This, therefore, will account for the proceedings of the session which commenced on the 19th of January, 1792.

“ On the first night of its meeting, Sir Hercules Langrishe (a confidential servant of Government, but an early and decided enemy of the popery laws) gave notice in the House of Commons of his intention to introduce a bill for the relief of the Catholics; which was accordingly brought in on the 4th of February. It opened to them the bar, up to the rank of king’s counsel; permitted their intermarriage with Protestants, provided it were celebrated by a Protestant clergyman; but continued the disfranchisement of a Protestant husband, marrying a popish wife; and subjected a Catholic clergyman, celebrating such intermarriage, to the penalty of *death*; at the same time declaring the marriage itself null and void. It further gave the Catholics the privilege of teaching school without license from the ordinary and permitted them to take two or more apprentices.”

As Americans, living in a country where absolute freedom of conscience exists for all, it would be difficult to realize that the slightest objection could have been made to the granting of these so-called concessions. And it is still more difficult to understand how such laws as constituted the Penal Code of Ireland could have been enforced consistently with Christian charity or approved by any civilized people to within seventy years of the present time.

It is doubtful if any other people, not excepting the Catholic Poles of Russia, were ever placed under so grievous a burden as these iniquitous Penal laws proved for the Catholics of Ireland and the infliction of the laws themselves was to the Catholic conscience and self-respect as brutal as the severest torture English ingenuity ever devised for the bodily suffering and death of the Irish people.

Burke,¹ in a letter written in 1792 to Sir H. Langrishe on

¹ *The Works of Edmund Burke*, New York, 1854, vol. ii., pp. 64-84.

the status of the Catholics of Ireland, gives an account of the Penal laws, a production which is probably the clearest exposition of the subject ever written. In his opinion:

“ Their declared object was to reduce the Catholics of Ireland to a miserable populace, without property, without estimation, without education. The professed object was to deprive the few men who, in spite of those laws, might hold or retain any property among them, of all sort of influence or authority over the rest. They divided the nation into two distinct bodies, without common interests, sympathy, or connection. One of these bodies was to possess *all* the franchises, all the property, all the education; the other was to be composed of drawers of water and cutters of turf for them.

“ All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effect of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people.”

Burke also stated that the system was:

“ The worst species of tyranny that the insolence and perverseness of mankind ever dared exercise. . . . You abhorred it, as I did, for its vicious perfection. For I must do it justice: it was a complete system full of coherence and consistency; well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement, in them, of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.”

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Catholic population of Ireland had increased faster in proportion than the Protestant portion had done. In many districts, to the north and in the middle portion of Ireland, as they gradually filled the vacancies created by the beginning of Protestant emigration, the Catholics under more favorable circumstances gained rapidly in numbers and prosperity. In consequence of increased business relations, they began to exercise greater influence in every community and this

gradually led to a more passive tolerance evinced towards them, so that many of the more grievous laws of the Penal Code became inactive from not being enforced by the local authorities.

But it was not until 1774, when the British Government was beginning to get into difficulty with the American Colonies, that any legal amelioration was made. At that time an Act was passed by Parliament permitting the Irish Catholic to take a prescribed oath of allegiance to the king which could be done without committing perjury. Previous to that time the Catholic was cut off by law from almost every pursuit in life. By being able to take an oath of allegiance the Catholic gained some legal standing in his community. In 1778, while England was engaged in the American war, which had already become a serious tax on her resources, she was forced to grant greater concessions by the repeal of the barbarous additions made to the Penal Code by William III. England had also to make concessions to Scotland, in addition to those granted the Irish Catholics, with the effect of arousing the bigotry of the English people which in 1778 culminated in the Lord George Gordon riots of London.

In consequence of the united action of the Irish people public worship, even to the existence of a Catholic church, was legalized. And we shall see, it was promised that all legal disabilities would be removed from the Catholics with full freedom of worship. As usual, pledged faith was violated and no further efforts were made by the English Government to emancipate the Catholics until it was forced to do so many years later.

The Catholic Association of Ireland had been gradually gaining strength through increased numbers and influence. Wellington, as Prime Minister, for a time bitterly opposed granting religious liberty to the Catholics but at length he became convinced that the security of the Empire would be endangered by further resistance. He then, representing the Government, advocated the introduction of a Relief Bill into Parliament which was passed through the House of Lords

and Commons with the greatest expedition and in 1829 the Catholic subjects of Great Britain became by law freemen.

We have seen Edmund Burke's view of the Penal Code, as shown by a few brief extracts relating to the whole system. But the following synopsis, recently published in the *Dublin Freeman's Journal*, Ireland, treats of the subject more in detail and it will indicate to the reader, in a general way, what formed the "Popery Laws" in a modified form at the time of the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829.

The provisions of the Penal Code were at that time as follows:

"They excluded Catholics from Parliament, from the magistracy, from the corporations, from the University, from the bar, from the right of voting at Parliament elections or vestries, of acting as constables, as sheriffs or as jurymen, of serving as officers in the army or navy, of becoming solicitors, or even holding the position of game-keeper or watchman.

"They prohibited them from becoming schoolmasters, ushers or private tutors, or from sending their children abroad to receive the Catholic education they were refused at home.¹ They offered an annuity to every priest who would forsake his creed, pronounced a sentence of exile against the whole hierarchy, and restricted the right of celebrating the mass to registered priests whose number according to the first intention of the Legislature was not to be renewed.² The Catholic could not buy land or

¹ During the seventeenth century all Catholic education was forbidden, the object being to keep four-fifths of the Irish people in absolute ignorance, and Catholic schoolmasters in common with the priest were hunted and put to death as wild beasts.

² The Irish House of Commons in 1719 passed a bill unanimously directing that every unregistered priest and friar found in Ireland after May 1, 1720, should have the letter P branded by a hot iron on the cheek. The Irish Privy Council changed the penalty to castration and the change was approved. But the bill was finally rendered void in consequence of a connecting clause relating to the grant of certain forms of lease to Catholics which the Irish House of Lords rejected; but no other objection was raised to the bill as a whole. The English were more merciful to their people, since a priest found in England was consigned to the gallows.

inherit or receive it as a gift from Protestants, or hold life annuities or lease for more than thirty-one years, or any lease on such terms that the profits of the land exceeded one-third of the rent. A Catholic except in the linen trade, could have no more than two apprentices. He could not have a horse of the value of more than five pounds, and any Protestant on giving him Five Pounds might take his horse. He was compelled to pay double in the militia. In case of war with a Catholic power, he was obliged to reimburse the damage done by the enemy's privateers. To convert a Protestant to Catholicism was a capital offence. No Catholic might marry a Protestant. Into his own family circle the elements of dissension were ingeniously introduced. A Catholic land owner might not bequeath his land. It was divided among his children, unless the eldest son became a Protestant, in which case the parent became simply a life tenant and lost all power either of selling or mortgaging it. If a Catholic's wife abandoned her husband's religion, she was immediately free from his control, and the Chancellor would assign her a certain portion of the husband's property. If his child, however young, professed itself a Protestant, it was taken from the father's care, and the Chancellor could assign it a portion of its father's property. No Catholic could be guardian either to his own children or those of another."

We have here given in brief the Code, after it had been modified somewhat, in response to the demands of those in Ireland of a different faith that some justice should be extended to the Catholics. But the list is not complete, for no Catholic could lend money on landed security; nor does it make mention of the special taxes and the tithes which they had to pay in common with the Dissenters or Presbyterians.

The law was that no Catholic could enter the army or navy without taking the oath of supremacy; but this law was afterwards ignored for the purpose of filling the ranks of both services with recruits by enlisting or by means of the Press Gang.

The following is a criticism on the Penal Code of Ireland from Lecky's work¹:

¹ Vol. i., pp. 169-170.

“ It may be possible to find in the statute books both of Protestant and Catholic countries laws corresponding to most parts of the Irish penal code, and in some respects surpassing its most atrocious provisions, but it is not less true that the code, taken as a whole, has a character entirely distinctive. It was directed not against the few, but against the many. It was not the persecution of a sect, but the degradation of a nation. It was the instrument employed by a conquered race, supported by a neighboring Power, to crush to the dust the people among whom they were planted. And, indeed, when we remember that the greater part of it was in force for nearly a century, that its victims formed at least three-fourths of the nation, that its degrading and dividing influence extended to every field of social, political, professional, intellectual and even domestic life, and that it was enacted without the provocation of any rebellion, in defiance of a treaty which distinctly guaranteed the Irish Catholics from any further oppression on account of their religion, it may be justly regarded as one of the blackest pages in the history of persecution.”

“ The Irish,” said Dr. Johnson,¹ “ are in a most unnatural state, for we there see the minority prevailing over the majority. There is no instance even in the Ten Persecutions of such severity as that which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against the Catholics.”

The Catholics were anxious to accept any amelioration in their condition, while their Presbyterian friends in the north were active in obtaining signatures to a petition in which it was urged in strong terms that a complete repeal should be passed which should free the Catholics from all existing penal and restrictive laws. This petition, to which the names of over six hundred Presbyterian business men in Belfast were attached, together with all others presented with the same purpose, was rejected by so large a majority of the Irish House of Commons that the effect was to force the Dissenters and Catholics into even closer relations.

When Sir Hercules Langrishe's bill was under discussion it met with great opposition; Mr. Emmet states²:

¹ Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, p. xxix. See also Hallam's *History of England*.

² *Pieces of Irish History*, p. 27.

“ In the debate on this motion, Mr. Grattan reprobated the bigotry of the Protestant Ascendency, and predicted the final success of the Catholics, by one of those sublime comparisons that peculiarly characterized his eloquence:—‘ What, never be free,’ exclaimed this overwhelming orator. ‘ Three millions of your people condemned by their fellow subjects to an everlasting slavery, in all changes of time, decay of prejudice, increase of knowledge. The fall of the papal power, and the establishment of philosophic and moral ascendency in its place! Never be free! Do you mean to tell the Roman Catholic, it is in vain that you take oaths and declarations of allegiance; it would be in vain even to renounce the spiritual power of the Pope, and become like any other Dissenter, it would make no difference as to your emancipation; go to France; go to America; carry your property and industry, manufacturers, and family, to a land of liberty. This is a sentence which requires the power of a God and the malignity of a demon; you are not competent to pronounce it. Believe me, you may as well plant your foot on the earth, and hope by that resistance to stop the diurnal revolution, which advances you to that morning sun which is to shine alike on the Protestant and Catholic, as you can hope to arrest the progress of that other light, reason and justice, which approach to liberate the Catholic and liberalize the Protestant. Even now the question is on its way, and making its destined and irresistible progress, which you, with all your authority, will have no power to resist; no more than any other great truth, or any other ordinance of nature, or any law of motion, which mankind is free to contemplate, but cannot resist; there is a justice linked to their cause, and a truth that sets off their application.’ ”

Henry Grattan was a Protestant, a member of the Established Church, and until his death in 1820 he was persistent in his efforts to secure religious freedom for the Catholics of Ireland. Although he died before the Act of Emancipation finally passed, it must be claimed for him that no other individual contributed so much to bring about this consummation.

To the surprise of every one this bill passed and became a law by the same overwhelming majority which seemed at

the beginning to have been opposed to it. But time has disclosed the fact that the hand of Pitt, the then head of the British Ministry, manipulated the puppets in the Irish House of Commons to accomplish his purpose. The same influence was secretly exerted abroad for encouraging the Presbyterians and the Catholics to demand of the Government full religious freedom. At the same time those who favored "Protestant Ascendancy" were being urged by secret agents to offer every obstacle from increased religious prejudice and were encouraged to go to greater lengths in resistance with the certainty of having both the protection and sympathy of the Government.

A remarkable change had taken place throughout Ireland by the year 1790 and on the surface there still seemed a most promising outlook. Newenham, who was an observer of passing events, has stated that¹:

"The aspect of the political condition of Ireland gradually underwent a most desirable change. Cordiality between Protestants and Roman Catholics was now at its height. The partiality and insolence of the subordinate agents of the executive government, which the Roman Catholics had frequently reason to complain of, was everywhere industriously discountenanced and restrained. The laws became respected by all alike. The Roman Catholics, to whom they had long proved a source of terror, rather than relief, flew to them for protection, equally with the Protestants; and on various occasions evinced the utmost alacrity in carrying them into effect. The Roman Catholic clergy, treated with liberality, kindness, attention and respect, began to assist at those meetings where their presence was becoming. Irish gentlemen, of the Roman Catholic religion who had served in the armies of foreign princes, or resided, without occupation, abroad, now returned to their native country; and by the politeness of their manners, liberality of their sentiments, and respectability of their characters, attracted in an eminent manner the esteem of their Protestant associates. Everything tending to revive recollection of former animosity was scrupulously avoided. The

¹ P. 250.

attractive and amiable qualities of the Irish character suffered obscuration no longer. Ireland seemed to rise from a long trance, to the enjoyment of the utmost internal peace and felicity. But, alas! the season of tranquillity, union and strength was of short duration.”

The treacherous purpose of the Government was hidden as yet but the spirit of discord was abroad through its influence. The feelings of every individual in the community were being gradually involved in the great cyclone of evil passions which was about to burst forth over the whole country in a civil war to be attended with an incalculable amount of sorrow and suffering from every crime known to men—and one man, Pitt, the English Minister, was its instigator.

With the prospect of gaining general reform in Parliament and emancipation for the Catholics, a general state of enthusiasm sprang up throughout Ireland. While it was generally believed that the Irish Government was not to be depended upon, the impression was widespread that Pitt was sympathetic, that through his influence Parliament would eventually be directed to take favorable action. A Catholic Convention was held and a general petition was circulated for signatures, to be signed by persons of all denominations and the one in Belfast was signed by almost two-thirds of the adult male Protestant population of that town. This petition, asking for the granting of religious freedom to the Catholics, was entrusted to a committee and on January 2, 1792, it was presented at St. James's Palace, London, to the King who formally received it; subsequently it was also endorsed by the Ministry. Mr. Emmet states¹:

“The Lord Lieutenant in his speech from the throne on the 10th, communicated a particular recommendation from his majesty to take into serious consideration the situation of his Catholic subjects and relying on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament. This recommendation seemed to work a rapid

¹ *Pieces of Irish History, etc.*, p. 42.

change of sentiment in many of those who had before brought forward the counties and grand juries to pledge their lives and fortunes against any further restoration of rights to their fellow subjects. In general it was received with a chastened and meek submission."

A bill was introduced into the Irish Parliament for the relief of the Catholics and Mr. Grattan shortly offered another for the purpose of reforming the whole system of selecting members for Parliament, together with other measures for the general good. But there was evidently a secret influence exerted which retarded the progress of every proposed reform. The country was rapidly getting into an unaccountably restless state, particularly at the north, where Protestants and the lower classes of Catholics were frequently involved in conflict through religious prejudice suddenly excited into active operation by some hidden influence.

As the Catholics were generally on the defensive, they began to organize and called themselves "Defenders." Frequent searches were being made by the Government and its friends all over the country under the pretext of searching for arms. The Volunteers and other military organizations were prevented from meeting and large bodies of English and Hessian troops began to make their appearance in the country. Mr. Emmet has given us an explanation of the cause of disturbance at the north¹:

"Disturbances had broken out, and outrages were committed in the country of Louth, and the neighbouring counties of Meath, Cavan and Monaghan, by persons of the lower rank in life, associated under the name of Defenders. This body had its origin in religious persecution and was an almost inevitable consequence of the system, according to which Ulster had been colonized and settled, and Ireland ruled since the reformation. In that province English and Scotch Planters had been established on the forfeited lands of the native Catholics. These last were for the most part obliged to retire to the bogs and mountains; but even

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, etc., p. 54.

they were not permitted to lose the remembrance of their forefathers, their power and opulence, in the tranquil enjoyment of security and content. The bogs and mountains afforded them no refuge against the acts of uniformity and supremacy or the accumulating oppression of the popery laws. Nor were the wretched inhabitants exempt by their defenceless condition from the hatred, contempt and persecution of their privileged and arrogant neighbours. Hence arose a mutual rancorous animosity between the new settlers and natives, or in other words, between the Protestants and Catholics, transmitted from generation to generation, until at last it became more violent and intolerant than in any other part of Ireland."

Mr. Emmet does not specify nor point out the fact but the reader must bear in mind that the difficulty was not so much between the Presbyterians and Catholics as from a small portion of the Protestants who, under the plea of "Protestant Ascendancy," had found it profitable to sacrifice the peace and prosperity of Ireland during the previous hundred years and were soon to band together in a more formidable organization as Orangemen.

Notwithstanding the ominous outlook for the country the people at large had not yet suspected the true condition of affairs and were still busily engaged in contemplating the apparently favorable prospects for obtaining different reforms. The English Government and its agents were to all appearances taking no active part; yet the situation was like that of some wild beast drawing together its limbs in preparation suddenly to spring upon its prey; it was preparing to crush a helpless people for the purpose of gaining a long contemplated advantage, of perpetrating a political crime which was diabolical both in conception and execution.

The United Irishmen were the only portion of the people who were beginning to mistrust the Government and had in consequence begun to form their secret societies in preparation for the outbreak which it was obvious to many must come, since Rowan, Jackson and other leaders had been arrested under different charges. But they were oblivious

to the fact that England had already permeated their own organization with her spies and informers who were soon to furnish against them any testimony needed to serve the purposes of the Government.

In January, 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam was sent over to Ireland fully authorized to advocate in the name of the British Government every needed reform. We learn from Mr. Emmet's work¹:

“When Mr. Pitt thought it advisable to dismember the English opposition, by detaching from it those whose opinions on the subject of the French war most nearly coincided with his own, the Duke of Portland was prevailed upon to enter the cabinet, by such offers, as can be best inferred from Lord Fitzwilliam's letters to Lord Carlisle, which were published by the authority of the writer. These offers are sufficiently expressed in the following passages:—When the Duke of Portland and his friends were to be *enticed* into a coalition with Mr. Pitt's administration, it was necessary to hold out such lures as would make the coalition palatable. If the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered to his grace, that coalition would never have taken place. The superintendence of that country having been vested in the Duke, he seems to have been seriously intent on remedying some of the vices in its Government. The system of that Government, he said, was execrable; so execrable as to threaten not only Ireland with the greatest misfortune, but ultimately the empire. So strong was this opinion on his mind, that he seemed determined on going himself to reform those manifold abuses; if he could not find some one in whom he might have the most unbounded confidence, to undertake the arduous task. Such a person he found in Lord Fitzwilliam, his second self—his nearest and dearest friend. That nobleman was far from desirous of undertaking the herculean office; but he was urgently pressed and persuaded by the Duke of Portland.

“They both had connections and political friends in Ireland, members of the opposition, whom they wished to consult on the future arrangements, and whose support Lord Fitzwilliam conceived of indispensable importance.”

¹ *Pieces of Irish History, etc.*, p. 92.

Mr. Grattan and their other friends had frequent consultations and finally it was agreed that ¹:

"They were very ready to join the Duke of Portland in rallying under the standard of Mr. Pitt, provided certain domestic stipulations were acceded to, from which they hoped to secure some share of public confidence. Among these were unqualified Catholic emancipation, the dismissal of what was called the 'Beresford Faction,' with adequate regulations for preventing embezzlement, and for securing order and economy in the collection and administration of the treasury and revenue. Mr. Burke also suggested a further measure of liberality, flowing to the Catholics from itself. They, he asserted, were far from being conciliated even by the partial repeal of the popery laws in 1793; inasmuch as administration, while it acceded to the law, showed dislike to its relief by avoiding as much as possible to act under its provisions: although it rendered them admissible to certain offices, no appointments had been made, which realized to any individual the benefits it promised."

Marcus Beresford, the leader of the faction above referred to, belonged to a family which for generations had lived on the country through its influence with the British Government under all administrations. Uncompromising advocates of Protestant Ascendancy and active Orangemen, they were ever ready to do any disreputable service for the Government. The Beresfords and their connections at one time monopolized one-fourth of the Government offices in Ireland and, it was commonly held, had been able to take more from Ireland and to give less than any other family in the country. In less than three hundred years they have acquired over one hundred and sixty thousand acres of land in Ireland alone.² Plowden states ³:

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, etc., p. 94.

² See *Our Old Nobility*, by Howard Evans, published by Vickers, London, for many points of interest relating to those who have likewise prospered at the expense of their country.

³ Vol. iv., p. 158.

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“ No sooner had the original plan of Irish reform been projected and agreed upon by the Portland part of the British Cabinet, than Mr. Beresford, who well knew that his power would be put down, applied to a higher power in order to support himself against the attack whenever it should be made. In the preceding autumn he had flown to England on the first rumour of Lord Fitzwilliam’s appointment, and had followed his Majesty to Weymouth, where he had been honoured with a private audience, in which he is reported to have represented in the most lively colours his uniform attachment to every administration during a period of twenty-five years, his decided hatred to reforms of government of every kind, and the repeated assurances of protection which he had invariably received from that party, which had long been known by the title of the King’s friends. Surer protection he could not have received. By command of the highest authority he attended a council, in which the restoration of himself and friends was unanimously voted; and he received a letter in Mr. Pitt’s own handwriting, directing him to return to Ireland immediately and resume his situation at the revenue board; and to assure his friends, the attorney and solicitor general, that the King would not accept of their resignation.”

Mr. Toler, the Solicitor-General, one of the “ friends ” referred to above and one of the individuals Lord Fitzwilliam had insisted should be dismissed with Beresford, soon after received the title of Lord Norbury as a reward for the reflection cast upon his good name (!) At a subsequent period he gained much notoriety as the presiding judge at the trial of Robert Emmet.

The proof is conclusive that Lord Fitzwilliam became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland with the approval of Pitt, of the King and of his Ministry with the full understanding that he was to bring about Catholic Emancipation and the different reforms desired by the people. Plowden gives a letter from Fitzwilliam¹ to Lord Carlisle stating the circumstances :

¹ Vol. iv., p. 127, note.

“ From the very beginning, as well as through the whole progress of that fatal business, for fatal I fear, I must call it, I acted in perfect conformity with the original outline settled between me and his Majesty’s Ministry, previous to my despatch from London. From a full consideration of the real merits of the case, as well as from every information I had been able to collect of the state and temper of Ireland, from the year 1790, I was decidedly of opinion, that not only sound policy, but justice, required, on the part of Great Britain, that the work, which was left imperfect at that period, ought to be completed, and the Catholics relieved from every remaining disqualification. In this opinion the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred with me, and when this question came under discussion, previous to my departure for Ireland, I found the cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, strongly impressed with the same conviction. Had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the government.”

Immediately after Lord Fitzwilliam assumed the head of the Irish Government he caused the different Acts to be presented in the Parliament and took other measures to bring about the needed reforms. And so successful was he in allaying the existing state of irritation which had been caused by the preceding Administration, that all classes soon vied with each other in their expressions of loyalty for the British Government. Notwithstanding that every step taken in Ireland was promptly reported to the English Minister, nearly a month elapsed before the first expression of dissatisfaction on his part reached Lord Fitzwilliam. Nor did Pitt allow the Irish people to have the slightest suspicion of his intended course until after the Supply Bill had been acted upon. In the meantime so much enthusiasm had been roused in Ireland that an augmented Supply Bill, for the enormous sum of one million seven hundred thousand pounds, was passed through the Irish Parliament without opposition to assist England in her contest on the Continent.

Immediately after this occurrence the scene was suddenly changed in consequence of rumors spreading everywhere that Lord Fitzwilliam was to be recalled, that all the measures

for reform which had been introduced into Parliament by him were to be withdrawn and that Lord Camden was to be his successor. But above all were the people alarmed because Beresford and his friends were exultant and boasted openly that the management of Irish affairs would now be placed entirely in their hands as the friends of the English Government.¹

We will again quote from Plowden²:

“The report of Earl Fitzwilliam’s intended removal was no sooner credited, than an universal despondency, seized the whole nation. Meetings were formed throughout the Kingdom, in order to convey to their beloved and respected governor, their high sense of his virtue and patriotism, and their just indignation at his and their country’s enemies. The deep and settled spirit of discontent which at that time prevailed among all ranks of the people, was not confined to the Catholics. The Dissenters and as many of the Protestants of the establishment as had not an interest in the monopoly of power and influence, which Earl Fitzwilliam had so openly attacked and so fearfully alarmed, felt the irresistible effect; all good Irishmen beheld with sorrow and indignation, the reconciliation of all parties, interests and religion defeated, the cup of national union dashed from their eager lips, and the spirit of discord let loose upon the kingdom with an enlarged commission to inflame, aggravate, and destroy. Such were the feelings, and such the language of those, who deplored the removal of that nobleman, in the critical moment of giving peace, strength, and prosperity to their country. And how large a part of the Irish nation lamented the loss of their truly patriotic governor, may be read in the numberless addresses and resolutions, that poured in upon him both before and after his actual departure, expressive of their grief, despair, and indignation

¹ It was in consequence of the urgent request of Earl Fitzwilliam for the removal of this Beresford, and of several other equally disreputable officials, that the Government promptly recalled him. In the words of Mr. Parnell, the Earl of Fitzwilliam was the only Viceroy before Mr. Gladstone’s time, who “ever offered to Ireland even a cup of cold water,” and hence his offence.

² Vol. iv., pp. 155, 162.

at the ominous event. They came from every description of persons.”

Plowden continues :

“On the 25th of March, 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam took his departure from Ireland, when the resentment, grief, and indignation of the public were most strongly marked. It was a day of general gloom; the shops were shut; no business of any kind was transacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His coach was drawn to the water side by some of the most respectable citizens and cordial sorrow appeared on every countenance. The reception of Earl Camden, who arrived in Dublin five days after, wore a very different complexion; displeasure appeared generally; many strong traits of disapprobation were exhibited, and some of the populace were so outrageous, that it became necessary to call out a military force in order to quell the disturbance that ensued.”

From the day Lord Camden was placed at the head of Irish affairs free license seems to have been given to Beresford and his kindred spirits to commit with impunity every crime against the Irish people, in which they acted openly with the boast of Government protection. To keep within the proposed scope of this Work it will be impossible to do more than give a general idea of the means resorted to, by those acting in the English interest, to goad the Irish people into rebellion. Nor can more than a general outline be traced to show the patience and forbearance of the people during two years which elapsed before the purpose of the English Government was successful. But during this period, after the people were finally driven into rebellion and until they were finally crushed out, the horrors of the French Revolution become insignificant in comparison with the suffering Ireland experienced at the hands of the Hessian and other English troops; and also from their Irish countrymen, the Orangemen, who were even more brutal than their brutal English friends. The mortality was greatly increased in Ireland in consequence of the countless numbers of un-

provoked murders which were committed by the soldiers, of which no reckoning was kept by the authorities and for which no one was punished. The Irish people suffered from torture and from crimes unknown to the French, while the women in France were spared the unspeakable brutality which was commonly inflicted throughout Ireland.

Plowden¹ informs us that :

“As to this species of outrage, which rests not in proof, it is universally allowed to have been exclusively on the side of the military. . . . It has been boasted of by officers of rank, that within large districts a woman had not been left undefiled; and upon observation in answer, that the sex must have been very complying, the reply was, that the bayonet removed all squeamishness!”

Napoleon in France and Pitt at the head of the British Government were the demons of discord who were at this time sacrificing the property and happiness of the world.

Yet, if it were possible to place in contrast all the crime, suffering and misfortune, with all the consequences which could be traced directly or indirectly to the acts of these two men, Napoleon would appear as an angel of mercy in comparison with Pitt. It is simply special pleading, a subterfuge, to maintain that Mr. Pitt, in consequence of his many cares at the head of the Ministry in England, should not be held blamable for the misdeeds of his officials in Ireland.

No one but himself was responsible for the policy of the English Government previous to the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam and for the latter's selection and administration; and he was as equally responsible for his sudden removal. He certainly approved of Lord Camden, who came to Ireland instructed to carry out a totally different policy, which was to exasperate the people to establish the “Union.” Nothing could have been done otherwise without his approval. Every local official was appointed in accord with his instructions to

¹ Vol. iv., p. 339, note.

Camden and the course which each followed met with his full approval.

Moreover, it is a well-established fact that in several instances he disregarded suggestions of a different policy made by his Irish officials, the only redeeming circumstances in their otherwise disreputable service.

The epigrammatic statement of Shakespeare: "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often interred with their bones" is applicable to Pitt in his relation to Ireland, in so far that the evil for which he was responsible has continued. But with his bones was interred not even a good intention!

"If the truth must be told they [the Orangemen] rarely enter a church door. . . . They preach a gospel of hate and of hatred, that would disgrace a race of savages, a gospel of which the Christian religion knows absolutely nothing."

Thomas W. Russell

CHAPTER IX

STATE PAPERS RELATING TO IRELAND NOT RELIABLE—
THE LEADERS IN 1798—THEIR PLANS AND OBJECT—
SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE DESIGNEDLY INCREASED
BY THE GOVERNMENT—THE PRESS GANG AND METH-
ODS OF OBTAINING MEN FOR THE NAVY—ORANGEMEN
AND "DEFENDERS"—ACTIONS OF THE ORANGEMEN
SECRETLY PROTECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT—POSI-
TION OF THE CATHOLICS IN IRELAND NOT ALWAYS
WHAT IT SHOULD BE

WHEN about to consider the Irish troubles of 1798 in the light of history, Mr. Lecky expresses his difficulty as follows¹:

"It is with a feeling of unfeigned diffidence that I enter upon this branch of my narrative. Our authentic materials are so scanty, and so steeped in party and sectarian animosity that a writer who has done his utmost to clear his mind from prejudice, and bring together with impartiality the conflicting statements of partisans, will still, if he is a wise man, always doubt whether he has succeeded in painting with perfect fidelity the delicate gradation of provocation, palliation, and guilt."

After a writer has made so honest a statement it would seem scarcely fair to criticise the result were it not that, as the latest authority on the condition of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, his deductions might therefore pass unquestioned. His work illustrates an honest desire to carry out his purpose and, from an English standpoint, he has been successful. But he presents a strange gathering of testimony, which would bear greater weight were it not

¹ Vol. iii., p. 421.

that the information cited and credited to many in reality emanated from a common source. While the array does great credit to his research much which has been presented as authoritative should bear little weight with the student of Irish history, until its source and the purpose for which it was *originally* compiled be ascertained. It is now well known that the common origin of all information bearing upon this period came from the informer, who lived on what he could furnish, or from the partisan who always had the "grievance" of a religious bigot. The higher the rank of the Irish official the less opportunity he had to form any opinion from personal observation and the views he expressed were necessarily based upon information gained at second hand and generally given for the purpose of misleading. Mr. Lecky, like most writers in English interests before him, with no sympathy for the United Irishmen, had his views unconsciously influenced by the material to be found among the State Papers. The Government archives should naturally bear great weight, were it not that there are good reasons to believe that, in reference to Ireland at least, the statements and evidence to be found among these papers cannot be always depended upon for truthfulness.

It is in no cavilling spirit that this digression has been made, for the writer has carefully read this work with great interest and profit.

His object is to show that, while the views and purposes of the United Irishmen are not as a rule omitted by Mr. Lecky, he has not given them sufficient prominence for the benefit of the uninstructed reader. While the author of this historical work has given expression in a laudatory manner regarding his estimate of the private character of Messrs. O'Connor, Emmet and McNeven, the chief Executive of the United Irishmen, his opinion as expressed of them collectively is somewhat modified. Thus we find¹: "Few men can have had a loftier opinion of their own merits than O'Connor, Emmet and McNeven and they have

¹ Lecky, vol. v., p. 101.

written with burning indignation the account of their wrongs.”

The expression of indignation on their part was perfectly natural, as the Government had published a perverted and garbled account of their secret examination while in prison, which entirely misrepresented them and, as is evident, this was done for the purpose of deceiving the people. After these gentlemen had had the opportunity, through the aid of friends, to publish the truth, as a protest and that the people should know the facts, the Government subjected them for months to solitary confinement. Another leader, Samuel Neilson,¹ imprisoned at the same time, who attempted to contradict a similar statement published by the Government in regard to his own course, was informed that if he persisted in his attempt to contradict the version published he would be taken out and hanged without trial. On his statement that the contingency of his death was a matter of indifference to him he was then informed that, if he made another attempt to communicate with the public, all the horrors of unrestrained license, which had been but a short time suspended, would be again resorted to throughout the country; by this threat his silence was gained.

Through English influence the same policy of misrepresentation exists even to the present day and Dr. McNeven and Mr. Emmet, at least, always maintained that the public records had been falsified.

It is not within the scope or purpose of this Work to give a detailed account of the troubles just preceding and those existing during the “Rebellion” of 1798. But before entering upon any consideration of the subject we will first state the charges made by the leaders of the United Irishmen against the Government, in as brief a manner as possible.

It is a well-established fact that for fully fifty years before the “Union” was finally established the advisability of perpetrating such a measure, for the advantage of Great Britain,

¹ See Neilson's account of the compact with the Government, Madden's *United Irishmen*, fourth series, 1860.

had been frequently considered by different members of the English Government.

In 1782, when England was obliged to recognize the nationality of Ireland as a distinct Kingdom with an independent Parliament, she also yielded other so-called concessions; but all these were granted with the usual secret reservation on the part of England to break faith with Ireland whenever it was to her advantage to do so.

Ireland prospered in a remarkable manner as soon as she was able to manage her own commercial affairs. In time the people became united for the purpose of obtaining many other reforms which England never intended to grant; but until she recuperated her strength she temporized and misled the people. After everything had been promised and after the point had been reached where all the leaders were fully satisfied that their own individual measures were to be established, when the country as a consequence was never more loyal to the British Government, Lord Camden was made Viceroy. He was appointed for the purpose of pressing every obnoxious measure calculated to rouse the people to a state of desperation which, it was expected, would ultimately force them into rebellion; from the resultant horrors of this step, it was believed, they would suffer so much that all classes, even from different standpoints, would eventually be willing to accept the Union which England had determined to force.

The leaders of the United Irishmen did not at the time of their arrest intend a separation from England, if it were possible to obtain the needed reforms in Ireland. The movement was an overwhelmingly Protestant one and, for reasons to be stated hereafter, the Catholics, with the exception of a few individuals, did not take an active part. To bring about the result desired by the Government the greatest degree of lawlessness was not only permitted but its exercise was encouraged throughout the country. The English Government were fully aware, through the information given by Reynolds and others, that Mr. Emmet,

Dr. McNeven and Mr. O'Connor, who formed the Executive, were opposed to an outbreak and, being at the head of the movement, would be able to hold for an indefinite time in check the people as well as certain leaders of inferior rank who were urgent for the commencement of hostilities. A few arms and pikés had been collected and France had been approached with the object of obtaining assistance, in case this were necessary as a last resort. In consequence of these facts it has been held by all writers in the English interest that the statement made by the Executive Directors could not be true and yet an unbiased criticism would be that, if they were open to censure, it was that they failed in not making a greater provision for a contingency which could not be otherwise met.

Mr. Emmet stated under oath, at his examination before the committee of Parliament, that if the slightest promise of concession had been made by England there would have been no outbreak, even after the French entered Bantry Bay. But the Government suddenly put the whole country under martial law and arrested all the prominent leaders, as they could have done on the same information months before. The Orange yeomanry were quartered on the people with full license, which enabled them to commit every crime.

Mr. Emmet testified under oath at the same examination that at the time of the arrest of the leaders no plan of organization had been determined upon for a resort to arms. The purpose of the Government was at length accomplished when in desperation the people in several localities resorted to open resistance under inexperienced leaders and with only the pike with which to defend themselves.

Yet no active steps were taken at first by the Government to suppress the movement, which could have been easily done, and the chief efforts of the military seemed directed rather to spread the disturbance than to check it. After weeks of delay and with no prospect of a general outbreak, the troops, formed of Orangemen, were then suddenly sent into County Wexford amidst the densest Catholic population

in Ireland, where the people were as peaceful and as observant of the laws as in any portion of England. Here the United Irishmen had never been able to establish a single branch of the society. We will see the purpose and result of this move later on. The Catholics in no other portion of Ireland took part, unless in isolated instances where troops had been quartered on them, and there was but slight disturbance in Ulster, where the United Irishmen were in greater numbers. The country to the north was quiet but not, as claimed by the friends of the Government, in consequence of the excesses which it was charged had been committed in Wexford by the Catholics, who had been driven there to desperation. England had not yet succeeded in rousing the religious prejudices of the Presbyterians nor of the Protestants, outside of the organization of the Orangemen, and the people of Ulster at that time understood perfectly the condition of the Catholics in Wexford.

The leaders in Ulster had from the beginning been almost a unit in opposition to a resort to arms and were equally opposed to a separation from England, if it were possible to avoid it. After the arrest of their leaders they were still more opposed to a move which they realized was without prospect of success. The slight outbreak which did take place in Ulster met with no support. The punishment of the people was not stopped when they had ceased to offer resistance and had been disarmed but by every pretext the disturbed state of the country was maintained until a point had been reached where the English Government could safely force upon the suffering people the contemplated Union; even then this was consummated only by means of bribery and intimidation and by every other form of corruption which the ingenuity of unprincipled men could devise.

For several years the religious feuds at the north had been kept somewhat in check through the personal influence of prominent Presbyterians and Catholics. But many of the young Protestants in the neighborhood, whose fathers were the great land-holders or manufacturers, had banded

together for the purpose of enforcing an old law forbidding Catholics to possess arms. Under the pretext of searching for arms these nocturnal expeditions were frequently made the occasion for some greater outrage, which the Catholics naturally resented. Yet so-called history holds these unorganized, disarmed, ignorant Catholic people responsible for committing the alleged outrages by attacking large bodies of thoroughly organized, mounted and well-armed Protestants or Orangemen who it is not presumable were roving over the country night after night without purpose. Yet they were officially supposed to have no connection with the house-burnings, murder and other crimes which, however, the Irish people could not have inflicted on themselves. The Orangemen, now that their organization had not even the check of public opinion and with the secret protection of the Government as well as that exercised by their kinsmen the magistrates and all other local officials, ceased to be under any restraint and no mercy was shown to a "Defender."

Mr. Emmet¹ cites the following circumstances, the knowledge of which was doubtless gained from personal observation as he quotes no authority:

"Lord Carhampton² had gone down to quell the insurrection, and after he had succeeded, thinking perhaps that legal proceedings were tedious and sometimes uncertain in their issue, he delivered the goals of most of their inhabitants, by taking such as he thought fit, and sending them, without form of trial, or other warrant but his own military order, to serve on board the fleet. In this manner nearly 1300 persons were transported, not by their own connivance, nor as a kind of voluntary commutation of what they might suffer if rigorously persecuted. On the contrary,

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, p. 133.

² This man was the commander-in-chief and from the license practised by himself, with that allowed the troops, the policy was established to exasperate the people into resistance, as a consequence of the excesses committed by them. Half-hangings, torture, house-burnings, shooting of innocent persons and the defilement of the wives and daughters of the Irish people were committed wherever his troops were quartered.

it was not even pretended that those selected were accused of the most serious crimes, or the most likely to meet conviction before a jury; nor was the act attributed by the inhabitants of the country to a misjudged lenity. Indeed the objects of this summary measure were frequently seen tied down on carts, in the bitterest agonies crying incessantly for trial, but crying in vain. This conduct marked his lordship's attachment to Government too strongly not to have its imitators. Magistrates, therefore, without military commissions, but within the influence of his example, assumed to themselves also the authority of transporting without trial."

Many thousands of the young Catholic Irishmen were either seized by the Press Gang or were sent without trial and even on false charges on board the English naval vessels, where in the surrounding discipline they became helpless. They were there doomed to the most brutal slavery, from which nothing but death could liberate them unless in some rare instances an opportunity occurred for an escape. The celebrated mutiny on the *Nore* in May, 1797, was caused by the great numbers of young Irishmen who were impressed into the British Navy for a life of the most brutal servitude, where on any pretext they were either shot or hanged to the yard-arm without the slightest hesitation on the part of those in command.

Plowden was not an Irish sympathizer in any respect¹ but he always made an effort to be just. Yet he also falls into this common error of charging the "Defenders" with committing the outrages which were perpetrated in their neighborhood: and withal he was unable to realize that the Irish

¹ So far from being this, it is well known that he was an Englishman of strong prejudices in favor of the "Union" and a personal friend of Pitt, who employed him to write a special history, an old trick of the Government. But as Plowden was an honest man and did not falsify the records to favor the authorities, he was not remunerated but persecuted for his failure to such an extent as to be obliged to leave the country. He lived for many years in Paris in poverty, a ruined man through the influence of the English Government. As Plowden was not a partisan, frequent extracts have been taken from his work as from a very reliable source.

people had any provocation. As he was honest in stating what he thought to be true, the writer has depended to a great degree upon his work to furnish evidence against the English Government. Plowden states¹:

“It cannot elude the observation of every candid man, who considers the nature and progress of that horrible rebellion, which afterwards broke out openly in the year 1798, that the greater part of the individuals were unfortunately involved in it, by imperceptible gradation, by deception, art, malice, menace, or intimidation of the leaders and directors.”

Some of the supposed leaders we now know were from the beginning in the pay of the English Government and a judgment formed from the acts of these men to some extent justified Plowden's statement.

We continue to quote from the same author:

“As the summer advanced, the public fever quickened. Many outrages of the Defenders were punished in a most unwarrantable manner upon innocent untried persons by the military; upon mere suspicion or absence of a landlord, they burned houses, they often maimed and in some instances murdered the natives, who unfortunately inhabited the districts, into which they were sent. Nothing so strongly tends to irritate the popular mind, as the commission of crime under the colour of authority. In one instance a certain colonel was at the assizes of Armagh, tried and found guilty of murdering a Mr. Lucas; *upon his receiving sentence he produced his Majesty's pardon and was instantly liberated.* This circumstance greatly irritated the people.”

It was indeed a rare circumstance that a soldier, as in this instance, was ever tried by the local authorities for murder or any other crime in Ireland and the circumstances in this particular case must have been unusually aggravated to force a magistrate to act. But the remarkable feature was that any individual should have been provided beforehand with a kind of roving pardon from the King which was to

¹ Vol. lv., pp. 218, 219.

give him license to commit any crime and thus be protected from the consequences! Nor was this instance the only one on record where a similar protection had been granted to an Orangeman by the British Government.

Plowden, in a foot-note following the last quotation, in reference to the connivance of the Government and the protection extended to the Orangemen, states:

“Three Orangemen voluntarily made oath before a magistrate of the county of Down and Armagh, that they met in committees; amongst whom were some members of parliament, who gave these people money and promised they should not suffer for any act they might commit; and pledged themselves that they would hereafter be provided for under the auspices of the Government.”

And again in the same note:

“About the same time a number of delegates from the Orangemen met in the town of Armagh, and entered into resolutions, which they published: in these resolutions they recommended to the gentlemen of fortune to open a subscription, declaring, ‘*That the two guineas allowed them per man by Government was not sufficient to purchase clothes and accoutrements!*’ ”

It has often been asserted that the Orangemen, notwithstanding the atrocities committed by them, were not only protected by the English Government but were also subsidized by it. On the above evidence given by Plowden it would seem sufficiently proved that there existed at least good foundation for the charge.

The magistrates were all Orangemen and made no pretence to disguise their feeling of sympathy for their kinsmen, the yeomanry. The administration of justice consequently became a farce. Mr. Sampson cites one instance when the Government, for appearances at least, was obliged to prosecute but rewarded afterwards¹:

“A Magistrate named Green, of the county Armagh, had been convicted of gross partiality, and sentenced to six months im-

¹ *Memoirs of Wm. Sampson, an Irish Exile, etc.*, London, 1832, p. 29, note.

prisonment, and a fine of 200 Pounds. He was of course stripped of his commission of the peace, and committed to Newgate. But by the interest of Lord Clare,¹ his fine was reduced to sixpence, and he was again restored to the commission of the peace !”

As Mr. Emmet had a personal knowledge of the troubles in County Armagh, we will again quote from his work² :

“In the province of Ulster, the county of Armagh and its borders exhibited a scene of more melancholy disturbances, and more abominable oppression than afflicted or disgraced the rest of Ireland. The religious animosities that had raged so violently in 1793, appeared to have been subdued by the combined effort of liberal Catholics and Dissenters, by the unremitting exertions of the United Irishmen of that day, and by the conciliatory sentiments which flowed from the press, so far as it was in the same interest. The press, however, was subsequently reduced almost to silence; and the recent coercive statutes had nearly annihilated all public efforts by united, or even liberal Irishmen, on any subject of general politics, except during the transitory administration of Lord Fitzwilliam. The barriers to the revival of those animosities being thus broken down, they again desolated the country with augmented fury. The Peep-o’day-boys, who originally pretended only to enforce the popery laws, by depriving Catholics of their arms, now affected more important objects. They claimed to be associated for the support of a Protestant Government, and a Protestant succession, which they said was endangered by the increased power of the Catholics in the State, and they therefore adopted the name of Orangemen, to express their attachment to the memory of that prince, to whom they owed those blessings. . . . With this change of name, they asserted they had also gained an accession of strength; for the Peep-o’day-boys only imagined they were supported by the law of the land, in their depredations on their Catholic neighbours; but the Orangemen boasted a protection greater than even that of the law—the connivance and concealed support of those who were bound to see it fairly administered. Thus emboldened, and as they alleged, reinforced, they renewed their ancient

¹ Lord Clare was Pitt’s agent for bringing about the union.

² *Pieces of Irish History*, etc., pp. 134–138.

persecutions; but not content with stripping Catholics of arms, they now went greater lengths than they had ever done before, in adding insult to injury, sometimes by mocking the solemnity of their worship, and at others, even by firing into the coffins of the dead on their way to the sepulture.

“ The Catholics were by no means inclined to submit with tameness to these outrages. The defender system had nearly included all of that persuasion in the lower ranks, and scarcely any others were to be found in the neighborhood. They seized some opportunities of retaliating and thus restored to defenderism, in that part of the country, its original character of a religious feud. These mutual irritations still increasing, at length produced open hostilities.”

Mr. Emmet shows that the Orangemen were well armed and officered and, moreover, under no restraint of the law, so that the unarmed Catholics were unable to offer any concerted resistance. But the Catholics were at length compelled to make a final stand in which they were nearly annihilated.

Mr. Emmet then continues his narrative :

“ The Catholics after this transaction, never attempted to make a stand, but the Orangemen commenced a persecution of the blackest die. They would no longer permit a Catholic to exist in the country. They posted up on the cabins of those unfortunate victims this pithy notice—‘ To hell or Connaught! ’ and appointed a limited time in which the necessary removal of persons and property was to be made. If after the expiration of that period, the notice had not been entirely complied with, the Orangemen assembled, destroyed the furniture, burnt the habitations, and forced the ruined family to fly elsewhere for shelter. So punctual were they in executing their threats, that after some experiments none were found rash enough to abide the event of non-compliance. In this way upwards of seven hundred Catholic families in one county, were forced to abandon their farms, their dwellings and their properties, without any process of law, and were without any alleged crimes, except their religious belief be one.”

Mr. Emmet, a Protestant, thus stated what was known to him personally to be true. It is, moreover, a well-known fact, based on the testimony of many other writers, that the same lawless condition was fostered in Ireland by the British Government wherever the Orangemen were in the majority and that not the slightest effort was made to check their brutality nor their unutterable licentiousness.

Dr. Madden, who lived at a period when he was able to obtain accurate information from those who had a personal knowledge of all the facts, makes the following statement¹:

“The fact of the protection of the ‘Peep-o’Day-Boys,’ or the Orangemen, on the part of the Government of those times, admits of no doubt. When the Insurrection Act and the Convention Bill were introduced the excesses of the peasantry, whom they had goaded into resistance, were denounced by the Viceroy and the legal officers of the Government; but not the slightest allusion was made to the outrages of the exterminators of Armagh; nay, Bills of indemnity were passed to protect their leaders and magisterial accomplices from all legal proceedings on the part of their victims.”

Plowden states²:

“In the spring of this year, the public believed, (Whether rightly or wrongly, the effect was the same) that about 5,000 (some say 7,000) Catholics had been forced or burned out of the county of Armagh; and that the ferocious bandits who had expelled them had been encouraged, connived at, countenanced, instigated, or protected by the Government.”

Plowden’s statement regarding public opinion as to the action of the Government in the county of Armagh was true and was as applicable to the whole of Ireland. But sophistry has been employed and fallacious evidence cited, by different writers, in an attempt to deny the truth of this charge which was so generally believed at the time; and

¹ *The United Irishmen*, first series, p. 40.

² Vol. iv., p. 410.

the same is true in regard to the alleged object of the Government—to force the Irish people into rebellion that the "Union" might be brought about.

We find in *An Account of the Treaty between the United Irishmen and the Anglo-Irish Government in 1798*¹:

"So little was the policy of the British Cabinet on this subject a secret even out of Ireland, that the director Carnot told Dr. MacNeven in August, 1798, that a union was Mr. Pitt's object in his vexatious treatment of Ireland, and that it behoved the United Irishmen to be aware of his schemes."

On the following page:

"We have the authority of the American Congress that the colonies were driven designedly into resistance, for the purpose of giving an opportunity to impose on them a standing army, illegal taxes and to establish among them a system of despotism. This arbitrary project, after miscarrying in America, is transferred by the same Monarch to Ireland and unhappily succeeded there. Before assistance could be obtained against his schemes, from the natural ally of his persecuted subjects, an enlarged scope was given to the intolerable practice of house-burnings, free quarters, tortures and summary executions, which as the ministry contended, exploded in rebellion. After this manner they facilitated the union; but neither the recollection of the means nor the nature of the measure could have any other effect than to strengthen the desire of separation."

If in the history of Ireland it were possible to show that at one period more than at another a greater degree of injustice was meted out to the Irish people in the name of justice, that distinction might be claimed for the time just preceding and during the so-called Rebellion of 1798.

We will show that the law gave protection to no Irishman as to his liberty or his life. Jury packing and false swearing seem to have been perfected with less regard for human life if possible than before. But in fact there existed but

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, etc., p. 170, note.

little change; only the outward form of justice which had been used as a cloak was thrown aside, revealing the true condition which had been maintained for centuries and which exists in Ireland to the present day.

It becomes, therefore, necessary for the reader to appreciate fully the conditions that have been described in their causal aspect, before the result can be advantageously considered.

The evidence presented by Lecky as a whole shows that the Catholics previous to the outbreak in 1798 were the aggrieved party; but this judgment is tempered by the statement that there were grievous faults committed and many provocations given on each side, with other extenuating causes, which would rather reflect on the Catholics were the provocation not considered. In a previous chapter, when treating of the early movement of the "Defenders," he gives Musgrave, an English partisan writer, who received an office for writing his so-called history, as the authority for the following¹:

"In the country of Louth, the Catholics appear to have been the chief offenders, for it is stated that in the Spring assizes of 1793 at Dundalk twenty-one Defenders were sentenced to death and thirty-seven to transportation and imprisonment, while thirteen trials for murder were postponed."

At the same time not a single individual was even arrested among the overwhelming numbers on the other side!

For the student of Irish history who can divest himself of English influence no more convincing evidence of the innocence of these men could be presented than to cite the proportion of them convicted.

In the last century, if not up to a later period, the trial of a prisoner in Ireland on any political or criminal charge was generally paramount to a conviction, unless he was a supporter of the Government as a spy or could be made otherwise useful.

¹ Lecky, vol. iii., p. 213.

As in the past the same condition exists at the present time. Packing a jury, deciding beforehand as to the nature of the verdict to be rendered, with the use of false witnesses, has been the practice of English officials for several hundred years in Ireland, so that the administration of justice in that country has been, as a rule, a farce for all who have not been friendly to the British Government. Noted instances there have been of the righteous judge but in the end he has always failed to change a condition which has ever been sanctioned by the Government.

Until the Local Government Bill (which will be treated of hereafter) came into operation, by which the Irish people were unexpectedly enabled to obtain some control of their local affairs, the Government officials have never failed in obtaining any verdict desired. This fact has been so generally accepted that it is scarcely necessary to do more than cite the existing conditions, as an additional injustice from which the Irish people have so long suffered. No man in Ireland, known to be a practical Catholic by the observance of his religious duties, has ever been allowed to serve on the Grand Jury wherever it has been in the power of an Anglo-Irish official to prevent his doing so. Catholics are summonsed regularly, according to law, but in every instance they are made to "stand aside" from the jury box in all political trials and in every case where a "friend of the Government" (to observe the form) is placed on trial for the purpose of being whitewashed and not convicted. This rejection of Catholics is done regularly, notwithstanding that the law, as in every country, limits the number which can be rejected without question. The only limit practised has been shown in a determined purpose that no Catholic should exercise the rights enjoyed by his Protestant neighbor, to which he has been entitled by law for over seventy years. The same result has been obtained throughout Ireland wherever the English official is able to exercise his power. The same spirit of bigotry has been as apparent, whether the jury was impanelled in the most Protestant

portion of Ulster or in some densely settled Catholic section, where, to preserve the form of having twelve jurymen, it was sometimes necessary to bring in from a neighboring district some Protestant, "friendly to the Government," as the odd man.

In Ireland no law has ever seemed to exercise any special influence on the average judge, jury or English official, beyond its application to the purpose of inflicting the most grievous punishment admissible under it on those of the Irish people who were not in sympathy with the British Government.

One of the most remarkable features in the administration of Irish "justice" is the fact that the method of "stuffing" the jury box has been conducted always with the strict observance of all due form and with apparently as much honesty of purpose as if the function was legal throughout.¹

The course of the Protestant Government official in Ireland has been consistent from the beginning, and he has always had the influence of the Government to sustain him. Moreover, from the same standpoint and influence, the province of the informer, the perjurer and the jury-packer may be considered equally justifiable,—in Ireland at least. Yet to the Irish Catholics themselves, so many of whom have had their price, must be due to a great extent the existing want of consideration on the part of the Government, as well as the lack of respect shown by its officers to the members of that faith—doubtless as a consequence of the Penal Laws, for their effects are still to be recognized. The Catholics of Ireland are as a whole too conservative and are not sufficiently self-asserting in claiming their rights according to the laws of God, and even under the English law.

The laws as they stand to-day, in the Catholic interests, with the exception of emancipation, have been gained chiefly through the too often unaided efforts of Protestant leaders who, in proportion to their numbers, have made the greater sacrifice for their country. Therefore the English officials

¹ See Appendix, note 10 in the First Edition.

have but accepted the Catholic interests of the country at the same estimate as the Catholics themselves have apparently shown they valued them.

Owing to the weakness of human nature, and in a country where it is the boast of the English official that every man has his price, the many have had to suffer through the act of a single individual, and often to gratify only petty jealousy and personal enmity. The history of the country shows that there has been no period when English gold or favor could not gain to the interest of the Government a Catholic Reynolds, a Protestant Turner, or a Catholic Keogh in one generation, or a Catholic "Peter the packer" in another. It is quite possible that the number of Catholics in Ireland who have betrayed both their faith and country has been no greater than would be found elsewhere under the same circumstances. But, unfortunately, the conditions are such in Ireland that the countless numbers who have in every generation been true to their faith and loyal to the best interests of their country, have failed by their noble example in neutralizing evil caused by the fall of a single individual whose course as a traitor stands out as a justification for England's faithless policy in Ireland.

The course of every Protestant official put together has not done as much to subvert all respect for the law of the land as was accomplished by a Catholic judge now on the bench in Ireland who, while Attorney-General and subservient to every English interest, earned the sobriquet of "The Packer," by excluding Catholics from the jury-box.

"It may be affirmed that whatever there was of religious rancour in the contest was the work of the Government through its Orange allies, and with the express purpose of preventing an union of Irishmen of all creeds,—a thing which is felt to be incompatible with British Government in Ireland."

John Mitchel

CHAPTER X

ENGLISH METHODS: THE "BATTALION OF TESTIMONY"
— FALSE SWEARING AND PACKING THE JURY BOX —
CHARACTER OF SOME OF THE JUDGES — DISCRIMI-
NATION AGAINST THE CATHOLICS—THE ORANGEMEN
— THEIR ANCESTORS FLED AT THE BATTLE OF THE
BOYNE — THEIR USEFULNESS TO THE GOVERNMENT
IN CREATING DISORDER — ORANGEMEN GENERALLY
CONSIDERED TO-DAY ONLY WORTHY OF CONTEMPT—
EMERSON'S ESTIMATE OF THE NORMAN ANCESTORS OF
THE GOVERNING CLASS OF ENGLAND

AT every police centre, as will be shown hereafter, there was maintained a "battalion of testimony," the members of which were regularly drilled in the art of swearing and in other business connected with the occupation of "informers and fabricators of information." That the facility for obtaining accomplished witnesses in Ireland is not of recent date among those in the English interest, Carte shows in the case of Sir William Petty, who in the early half of the seventeenth century had a law-suit against the Duke of Ormond and "bragged that he had got witnesses who would have sworn through a three-inch board to evict the Duke." We have already referred to the manner in which witnesses were obtained for the finding of the indictments for the settling of the Connaught Plantations after 1641. These "friends of the Government" were always on hand to testify to the guilt of any prisoner who with a semblance of legality was convicted generally on false evidence, since no opposing testimony could be offered without exposing to condemnation the witness as an accomplice.

Toler, one of the most active judges at this time, who presided afterwards as Lord Norbury on the trial of Robert Emmet, was thus stigmatized by O'Connell in a noted speech¹:

"Why, in one circuit during the administration of the cold-hearted and cruel Camden, there were one hundred individuals tried before *one* judge; of these *ninety-eight were capitally convicted and ninety-seven hanged!* One escape, but he was a soldier who murdered a peasant, a thing of trivial nature. Ninety-seven victims in one circuit!"

O'Connell was doubtless familiar with the fact from his personal knowledge but reference being made at a later period it is not improbable that his recollection as to the number of cases was at fault. Evidently the following refers to the same incident but nearly twice the number is given. This is probably the correct version as reference is made to a document. In *The Sham Squire*, etc., the following statement is made of Toler²:

"His relish for a capital conviction was undisguised; a document before us mentions the almost incredible fact, that at a single assize, he passed sentence of death on *one hundred and ninety-eight* individuals, of whom *one hundred and ninety-seven* passed through the hands of Galvin, the hangman, &c."

The case which was not convicted was a Lieutenant Frazer, of the Scotch Fencibles, who killed while drunk an inoffensive old man who was engaged in some peaceable calling at home. It is thus described by Lecky³:

"The coroner's inquest returned a verdict of wilful murder, but the military authorities refused to give up the culprit. The magistrate was driven back by force and the government refused to interfere. At last, when the scandal became very grave, the officer marched into Athy with a band playing before him and

¹ *Memoirs and Speeches of D. O'Connell*, vol. i., p. 498.

² *The Sham Squire and the Informers of 1798*, etc., third edition, Dublin, 1866, p. 208.

³ Vol. iv., p. 222, and Lord Cloncurry's *Personal Recollections*, pp. 49-51.

gave himself up for trial. Toler, the Solicitor-General, was then acting as Judge of Assize, and in a charge, which appears to have been abundantly garnished with the judicial buffoonery for which as Lord Norbury he was afterwards so notorious, he directed the jury to acquit the prisoner on the ground that—‘he was a gallant officer, who had only made a mistake!’ ”

Such scenes were of frequent occurrence but fortunately for the country there were a few just men on the bench like Wolfe, afterwards Lord Kilwarden, who openly denounced the public scandal which existed but of which the Government took no cognizance.¹

It has been openly acknowledged in Parliament, as shown in the Appendix, that jury packing in Ireland has been regularly practised in the past and that the Government will sanction the packing of any jury in the future, whenever it is considered desirable to control a verdict.

This procedure is only resorted to against the Catholics; consequently justice in Ireland for three-fourths of the people is rendered to-day on the same religious basis as of old. For the carrying out of this policy false testimony, or perjury, is an essential and no one can truthfully deny that it is not employed.

In the past, as already stated, honest men did sometimes get upon the wool-sack in Ireland and were just, notwithstanding their English predilection. A statement made by the late Michael Davitt in a recent public speech shows that these are still exceptional.

The English version of Irish history teaches one fact, that for political services England has rewarded no one in late years by a position on the bench in Ireland whose honesty was above suspicion. Political service to the Government in Ireland from a lawyer always means some disreputable work which no honest man would undertake and a change in nature, after reaching the bench, is as unreasonable an expectation as that a tiger should change his stripes.

¹ Lord Kilwarden subsequently lost his life, in consequence of mistaken identity, from the violence of an exasperated mob in the streets of Dublin.

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Mr. Davitt's statement is:

“ Our judges are all, without a single exception, men nominated to the Irish bench for political work done in their day as lawyers against the predominant popular feeling of Ireland, in hostility to the national sentiment of the country.”

From one who had personally suffered as Mr. Davitt, his statement of the condition is presented in very moderate terms.

For the past two hundred years the question of religion has never been raised in the Catholic portion of Ireland and is a dead issue between individuals and in local politics. If any discrimination has been exercised by the Catholics it was only against those of their own faith. A Protestant of fair dealing in Ireland who in any way identifies himself with the interest of his neighborhood has always been respected in a Catholic community and trusted by the people with the management of their affairs. No better proof of this can be advanced than the large proportion of Protestants to Catholics existing among the Irish members of Parliament who have represented the Catholic portion of Ireland.

We learn from Fox¹:

“ But do not the facts of every day life in Ireland forbid the thought of intolerance on the part of the Irish Roman Catholics? Apart from any mere polemical controversy on the subject, persecution for conscience sake, of which they have themselves had such bitter experience, is a very powerful teacher of religious toleration. The Irish Roman Catholic constituencies have in numerous instances returned Protestant representatives, with and without the protection of the ballot, and it may be said with confidence that to reject such a candidate *on account of his religious belief*, when acceptable in all other respects, is a thing unknown in Ireland.

During the Robert Emmet outbreak this murder was committed, but the leader could have known nothing of it, for he was at the time in another part of the city as was shown by the testimony presented at his trial.

¹ *Why Ireland Wants Home Rule*, etc., by J. A. Fox, London, sixth edition, p. 164.

“In the general election of 1832, thirty-three Catholic constituencies used their new-born power to return at the polls forty-three Protestant members of Parliament. In the election of 1848, after the cruel pangs of famine, Catholic constituencies again sent over forty non-Catholic representatives to Parliament. At the general election of 1868, thirty-three Protestant members were elected by the Catholic majorities. Coming down to 1874, when the political question of Home Rule began to develop, the number of non-Catholics decreased; but every Protestant who adopted the national demand was received with open arms, and twenty-eight non-Catholic members represented Catholic constituencies in the Parliament of 1874. And the same thing occurred in the Parliaments of 1880-84-85-86.

“Mr. Charles Dawson, ex-member of Parliament, in the course of a very instructive lecture on this subject, observes:

“ ‘In pursuing this question of Parliament representation, I must be clear on one point. I don't think toleration requires that to represent a purely political opinion political opponents should be sent to Parliament. As well ask the supporters of Lord Salisbury to vote for Radicals, or those of Mr. Gladstone to vote for Tories, as to ask the Irish people to send to represent their political views men who would vote directly against them.’

“And Mr. Charles Dawson proceeds to ask a question which it must be confessed is rather an awkward one for us here at home:

“ ‘But if Mr. Chamberlain will throw the stone of “persecution” and exclusion of the “minority” at the Irish people, what has he to say of his own country? It has had all the opportunities, and more, than Catholic Ireland has had, of being tolerant to minorities. How did his country exercise it? How many Catholic members of Parliament did the English constituencies elect? How many Catholic mayors or sheriffs did English corporations appoint? How many well paid officers? When I was in Parliament, during five years, out of over five hundred members from England and Scotland, there was but one Catholic.’ ”

We need not dwell on the condition of discord and intolerance existing wherever Orangemen in Ireland are in the majority. A Catholic has never filled the most insignificant position in Belfast since the Orangemen have been in the

ascendancy there, while it has been the only city in Ireland where riots have been of frequent occurrence; and usually these have had their beginning in attacks made upon the Catholics.

The "Rebellion" of 1798 did not commence until after the arrest of the leaders in March of that year. During that year an open conflict existed between the people and the Government which was a death struggle on the part of the people to gain liberty. Since the beginning of Lord Camden's administration, several years before, the country had been in a chronic state of turmoil and was overrun with foreign troops who were guided and influenced by the Orangemen to commit every conceivable crime and torture. They thus hoped to force, as we have stated, an outbreak, in which the Government was the instigator, and it was the first step made by Pitt to bring about the "Union" with England. Yet the Orangemen proved of little value for fighting purposes and had in no respect improved upon their ancestors who came first into notice from being frightened by the Irish troops at the battle of the Boyne, where they deserted William and left him to fight and gain the battle with his own Dutch and Huguenot followers. English versions do not dwell particularly on this fact, so that, possibly through ignorance, Orangemen have since regularly celebrated the anniversary of the cowardly rout of their ancestors on that occasion.¹ History has failed to record

¹ Many of the Orangemen of the present day doubtless boast of their ancestors who were among the famous "Enniskilleners" at the battle of the Boyne. This body from the north of Ireland had already established an unenviable reputation for the brutal slaughter of all their opposing and unarmed countrymen who happened to come within their power. At the battle of the Boyne they crossed the river, with William of Orange leading them in person. The Irish cavalry of Garney, recognizing the advancing troops, began a charge to oppose them and with apparently so determined a purpose that the Enniskilleners deserted their leader, in a most ignominious flight, long before their opponents had come within striking distance. Taylor states (vol. ii., p. 151, *History of Ireland*, etc., by W. C. Taylor, with additions by Wm. Sampson, Esq., New York, 1833): "Their apologists say that they misunderstood their orders, and returned again. However this may be, it is certain that William ever

a single instance where these pets of the English Government were ever successful in a hand-to-hand contest with their despised countrymen unless they greatly outnumbered their adversaries or were supported by the regular troops. Some allowance, however, may in justice be due them because the pike of the United Irishmen proved in 1798 a most formidable weapon. History has not given full credit to the efforts of the Irish people in that desperate struggle, where even England's best troops suffered many a defeat when fairly matched as to numbers and not supported by cavalry and artillery, which the United Irishmen did not have to aid them. Had England relied upon her infantry her troops would have been defeated even with the advantage of firearms. In truth it may be stated that the British bayonet in this struggle was employed chiefly for killing women and children.

While it cannot be claimed that these Orangemen were ever hard fighters they proved a great success in bringing about Pitt's purpose by exasperating the people to open resistance. They seemed altogether to have been a jovial set and noted for their hard drinking, yet as they did little actual fighting and as there was a limit of material in every neighborhood for their marauding, possibly killing time as well as unarmed Irish became an object. Hence they all were experts in devising for their amusement every form of torture, through means of the pitch-cap, half-hanging, etc., and depriving defenceless persons of life—all of which seemed, as so many different forms of recreation, to have afforded them intense pleasure and gratification.

after viewed this part of his force with contempt, not unmingled with hatred." See also *The Battle-Fields of Ireland*, etc., John Boyle, fourth edition, New York, 1879, p. 144.

William's subsequent persecution of the Irish Catholics was to be expected. But his hatred of Irish Protestants as well cannot be explained, unless the incident of being deserted at the battle of the Boyne by the Enniskilleners and his narrow escape from being captured led to the destruction through his influence shortly after, as will be shown, of the great industries of Ulster which were almost entirely in the hands of Protestants who were in sympathy with his Government.

The following description of the condition existing in 1798 was written by Mr. Sampson, a reliable witness; and what he states of Dublin would have been as applicable to any body of Orangemen stationed in any other part of the country. Mr. Sampson, knowing he was under suspicion, wrote to the authorities offering to surrender himself on the promise of receiving a trial¹:

“No answer being given, I remained in Dublin until the 16th of April, when the terror became so atrocious that humanity could no longer endure it. In every quarter of the metropolis, the shrieks and groans of the tortured were to be heard, and that through all hours of the day and night. Men were taken at random without process or accusation, and tortured at the pleasure of the lowest dregs of the community. Bloody theatres were opened by these self-constituted inquisitors, and new and unheard of machines were invented for their diabolical purpose.”

Then follows in a note:

“The tortures administered by the dominant party during the ‘Irish reign of terror’ cannot be surpassed, perhaps not paralleled, in the annals of human suffering and crime. The torture of the lash was daily practiced at J. C. Beresford’s Riding School, the Castle yard, the old custom-house, and the several military depots, on all who were ‘suspected of being suspicious.’ One instance will suffice to show on what groundless suspicions such cruelties were inflicted. A youth named Bergan was flogged to death for having in his possession a ring, with the national device of the shamrock. The pitch cap was invented, it is said, by a noble lord; a paper cap lined with melted pitch was placed on the head of the victim, the hot liquid frequently streamed into his eyes, and added blindness to his other pains, a circumstance which always added to the delight of those who presided over the inhuman sport. The cap was sometimes rudely torn from the head, bringing with it hair and skin; at other times fire was communicated to the paper, and the wretch’s skull scorched to the bone. It was no unusual spectacle to behold miserable victims smeared with pitch and gore, blinded and maddened with pain,

¹ *Memoirs*, etc., p. 3. See also Appendix, note 11 in the First Edition.

running like maniacs through the streets of Dublin, followed by noblemen, magistrates, and officers, who took a fiendish delight in witnessing their agonized gestures.

“ Half hanging was a common means of extorting confession; and some, from long practice, had acquired such dexterity that they could tell the exact moment when the vital spark was about to flit. . . . Wives, children, parents, sisters, were brought to see these tortures inflicted on their nearest relatives, that out of their feelings might be extorted some denunciation, true or false, which the virtues of the sufferer had withheld. These tortures, it must be remembered, were inflicted not as a punishment for guilt, but as a means of acquiring information; and it is but fair to presume that in the great majority of instances the victims were innocent.”

Mr. Sampson then resumes his narrative:

“ Unhappily in every country, history is but the record of black crimes; but if ever this history comes to be fairly written, whatever has yet been held up to the execration of mankind, will fade before it. For it has not happened before, in any country, or in any age, to inflict torture and to offer bribe at the same moment. In this bloody reign, the coward and the traitor were sure of wealth and power; the brave and the loyal to suffer death or torture. The very mansion of the viceroy was peopled with salaried denouncers, kept in secret, and led out only for purposes of death.¹ Some of them, struck with remorse, have since published their own crimes, and some have been hanged by their employers.”²

¹ We will hereafter describe the “ Battalion of Testimony.”

² Foot-note from Sampson, p. 5: “ Hyland, who had been half hanged by Heppenstal, refused to give evidence against a person named Kennedy. He was immediately removed from the table to the dock, tried, convicted and executed. Neither did his virtue save Kennedy—indeed how could it? Norbury was the Judge! The fate of Jemmy O’Brien is known to those that have read that valuable piece of Irish history, *Curran’s Life*, by his son; having failed to convict his victims he was disregarded by his employers, and having killed an old man for calling him an informer, he was given up to the vengeance of the law. The exultation of the mob when this wretch was brought out for execution was horrible.”

“ The most conspicuous of these executioners was Lieutenant Heppenstal, commonly called *the walking gallows*; as from his great size and strength he was enabled to inflict strangulation by suspending the victim over his shoulder.

Lashings, Pitch-Caps and Half-Hangings 195

The pitch-cap was an instrument of torture confined to English rule in Ireland and one in the use of which the British troops and their "loyal friends" seemed to have found a never-ending source of enjoyment and recreation.

In Hay's *Insurrection of the County of Wexford* we find in reference to the use of the pitch-cap the following:

"Any person having his hair cut short, and therefore called a 'Croppy' (by which the soldiery designated an United Irishman) on being pointed out by some loyal neighbor, was immediately seized and brought into the guard-house, where caps either of linen, or strong brown paper besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of proper coolness so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out midst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers."

In the same work the author refers to the cruelties practised by the body of Orangemen who served the Government as the North Cork Militia¹:

". . . one of whom the noted Sergeant nick-named Tom the devil, gave him a woeful experience of his ingenuity and adroitness at devising torments. As a specimen of his *savior faire*, he cut off the hair of his head very closely, put the sign of the cross from the front to the back and transversely from ear to ear closer still; and probably a pitch cap not being in readiness, gunpowder was mixed through the hair, which was then set on fire and the shocking process repeated until every atom of hair that remained could be pulled out by the roots; and still a burning candle was continually applied until the entire hair was completely singed away and the head left totally and miserably blistered."

During the 'reign of terror' his exertions were the theme of eulogy, but when angry passions became cool, he was universally shunned, and driven to seek refuge in the lowest dissipation." (Note, p. 4.)

¹ The North Cork Militia was stationed in Dublin at the time referred to by Mr. Sampson in his *Memoirs*.

The pitch-cap of itself was a fiendish device of torture but it became more barbarous from the temptation to set it on fire, when it was left to burn until death came to the relief of the sufferer or until some humane person had the opportunity of extinguishing it. Instances of the use of the pitch-cap, and where it was set on fire, were by no means infrequent.

The writer recalls distinctly hearing, when a boy, the details of one death resulting from it which occurred in the streets of Dublin and was witnessed by his grandmother, Mrs. Emmet. She stated that a few weeks after her husband's arrest and imprisonment she heard a commotion in the street and on looking out between the slats of the closed shutter she saw a young man by the name of Powell, a distant connection of her own family, drop dead in front of the house. She saw the pitch burning on his head and down the sides of his neck, where it had set fire to his clothing. She learned that Mr. Powell's offence consisted in wearing a breastpin in shape of a shamrock which some drunken officer had ordered him, in an offensive manner, to remove. He had refused; some soldiers were called, the pitch-cap was applied and ignited and Mr. Powell in consequence died on his way to prison.

A quotation from Teeling, in corroboration, is of particular interest, as the murder described by him was committed in Dublin by the same troops which were stationed in that city at the time of Mrs. Emmet's experience.

Teeling wrote from personal observation and states¹:

“ In the centre of the city the heart-rending exhibition was presented of a human being, endowed with all the faculties of a rational soul rushing from the infernal depot of torture and death, his person besmeared with a burning preparation of turpentine and pitch, plunging in his distraction into the River Liffey and terminating at once his suffering and his life.”

¹ *Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion of 1798*, by Charles Hamilton Teeling, London, 1828, pp. 132-134.

It may be held, with some truth, that the greater portion of the atrocities practised on the Catholics in Ireland since the beginning of the reign of William and Mary were perpetrated by the so-called yeomanry, or Orangemen, of the country. But this fact cannot lessen in the slightest degree the blame and responsibility resting upon the British Government. It has maintained in the past its grasp on the country chiefly by fostering a feeling of religious intolerance and it encouraged the followers of William of Orange and their descendants, the Orangemen, under the guise of "Protestant Ascendancy," to keep the country for over two hundred years in turmoil.¹

The members of this body, devoid of all charity from the light of Christian precept, have under the cloak of religion fattened on the land to the present day like so many parasites, possessing nothing in common with Ireland nor with the greater portion of the Irish people, Protestants or Catholics, beyond the accident of birth. In Ireland Orangemen have no identification with the interests of the country beyond holding together the plunder acquired by their ancestors and their own gains from a favored prosperity. In truth the well-doing of the Irish people and of the country as a whole has always been in proportion to the bar placed upon the management of Irish affairs by Orangemen.

God has seen fit in His infinite wisdom to let these people prosper from a pecuniary standpoint. But it is a physiological law that if the mind be allowed to become narrowed in its views and contracted to a circumscribed field, as with these bigots, it cannot expand or develop in another direction. Consequently, since the existence of Orangemen in Ireland, as an organization, we seek in vain for any evidence of statesmanship among them in originating or in advocating any measure whereby the country as a whole would be benefited. No noted Orangeman, so far as the writer can ascertain, has excelled as a genius in the arts, in literature

¹ This was not, however, a new policy of the Government. See Appendix, note 4.

or in any other station. Prominence among them seems to the outside world to have been gained only in money-making and in their arrogant efforts to advance their own personal interests under the pretence of a "chosen people."

Mr. Lecky,¹ referring to some resolutions printed and circulated by the Orangemen in May, 1797, writes:

"They also declared that the object of the Orange Association was to defend themselves, their properties, the peace of the country, and the Protestant Constitution, and they solemnly and authoritatively denied that they had sworn to extirpate the Catholics: 'The loyal, well-behaved man,' they said, 'let his religion be what it may, need fear no injury from us,' etc.

"It was obvious that a society of this kind was very different from the tumultuous rabble which has been described and a book of rules and regulations was drawn up and circulated among the Orangemen, which clearly showed the desire of its leaders to give the society a character not only of legality, but of high moral excellence. Every Orangeman, it was said, was expected to have a sincere love and veneration for his Maker, and a firm belief in the sole mediatorship of Christ. He must be humane and courteous, an enemy of all brutality and cruelty, zealous to promote the honour of his King and country. He must abstain from cursing, swearing and intemperance, and he must carefully observe the Sabbath. The society was exclusively Protestant, and it was based upon the idea of Protestant ascendancy, but it was intended also to be actively loyal, and to combat the forces of atheism and anarchy. Like the Freemasons, the Orangemen had secret signs and pass-words, but the only object of these was to prevent traitors from mixing with them in order to betray them, and also to recommend each Orangeman to the attention and kindness of his brethren."

And Lecky directs the reader to see "*The Principles of the Orange Association Vindicated*, by the Rev. S. Cupples, Rector of Lisburn (1799)."

It is true that the Orangemen are and have all been nominal Protestants at least and that one of the alleged objects

¹ Vol. iv., p. 54.

of the organization was to secure Protestant ascendancy but beyond these statements the whole programme forms an exquisite piece of satire, which only one subjected to Irish surroundings could have written. The clergy, it has been held, are more credulous than the members of any other profession, and the Rev. Mr. Cupples may therefore have believed in his "Vindication." But that the historian, trained to analyze the value of the material to which he has access, should consider such an array of falsehoods worthy of a place in a credible work is beyond comprehension.

That such rules and regulations may have been written by some well-meaning man will not be questioned. It is equally true that there may have been in the organization, as honorary members advanced in years, some who in private life honestly lived up to their precepts, as it is claimed. But no member who took an active part in the organization could have ever been influenced by them, since frequent repetition, from rape to the torture of innocent persons, of every crime which could be perpetrated by the most lawless characters was committed by the Orangemen during the eighteenth century, wherever they were stationed; the proof of their guilt is beyond doubt. It does not seem possible that any one could read even Lecky's history without being convinced that these men were not falsely charged with these crimes.

Mr. Thomas W. Russell, a Protestant member of Parliament from Ulster, gives in his book the following testimony¹:

"The Orange Society for example is a great factor in the life of Ulster. I am not concerned here with either the history or the principles of the order. It is said by the supporters to be based upon the Word of God. Orangemen are declared to be, when true to their principles, the followers of Him who went abroad doing good—bound by solemn obligation to love and to help their neighbours without regard to sect, creed or party. According to the rules of the organisation, Orangemen ought everywhere, to be examples of toleration in a dark and intolerant land. This

¹ *Ireland and the Empire*, etc., pp., 262-266.

may all in theory be true, and the ideal of the founders of the institution may have been what I have sketched ; but when all this is admitted, it is equally certain that no society, professing such noble principles, has ever been more sadly or more completely misunderstood, that no body of men have ever apparently been at less pains to exemplify these principles in their public lives. And if the founders of the institution aimed at universal brotherhood their failure has been complete and unquestionable."

Mr. Russell also states :

"If the truth must be told, they [the Orangemen] rarely enter a church door ; they never subscribe a sixpence for the furtherance of any form of religion, they bellow on the streets about the Pope and the Protestant religion. The public-house is their temple ; the publican is their great high priest. They preach a gospel of hate, and of hatred, that would disgrace a race of savages, a gospel of which the Christian religion knows absolutely nothing. This is the spirit which disfigures the great northern capital [Belfast] and discredits the entire province. Its grosser exhibitions are almost entirely confined to Belfast, Partadawn, and one or two similar centres, but the spirit of the thing is everywhere throughout the province. It takes innumerable shapes, but hatred of popery and even of papists is everywhere."

In accordance with existing evidence the English Government must for all time stand charged with originating the Orange Organization and with having protected and maintained its members as a political machine to foment constant disorder ; above all as an accessory to and often the instigator, through its officials in Ireland, of the frightful crimes committed by this body.

The responsibility of this charge is fully appreciated. If there were no other proof it is enough to state that, had the English Government not fully approved of the course pursued by these men, from the time of the first atrocity committed to their latest outrage in Belfast or elsewhere on the public peace, they would have been suppressed. This charge is unanswerable, as the name of every member of an

Orange Lodge with the time and place of meeting were always within reach of the authorities and at no time were they in ignorance of the proceedings of these societies. On the other hand, let us suppose the existence of a Catholic political organization, having the same intent against the Protestants and with so little regard for the law of the land, can any one doubt that the Government would have failed in annihilating at the very beginning the whole association, individually and collectively?

The fact stands that in every riot or disturbance in Ulster or wherever the Orangemen have been in the ascendancy, the provocation has always been given by these men, while such scenes are unknown in the Catholic sections¹; and not only are the local authorities and the magistrates in full sympathy with the Orangemen but the police and soldiers have been made to assume the same position.

Year after year the same scenes of disorder are perpetrated, with no precaution taken until recently to prevent their repetition, and no honest effort is ever made to punish the instigators. But the police appear after the outrage has been committed in time to arrest the injured Catholic; those who acted on the defensive are charged and punished as if they had been the aggressors. In every disturbance which has come within the knowledge of the writer the Orangemen have been the aggressors and, where they have been defeated, the police and soldiers have invariably taken up the cudgel in defence of their friends and have punished the Catholics.

In the past it has made little difference which English political party has been in power because the Orangemen, except for a short time during Gladstone's administration, have been equally secure of protection earned from a Government with which they have had so much in common.

Orangemen have always constituted so small a proportion of the Protestant population of Ireland, which on the whole are not intolerant of the Catholic portion, that the

¹ See Appendix, note 13 in the First Edition.

fact needs some explanation why they should exercise such a powerful political influence. Honest and fair-minded men, who were above reproach in private life, have with honor led the different political parties in England and yet, while possessing nothing in common with the tenets held by the Orangemen, they have not dared institute any measure for the benefit of Ireland at large without the approval of this disreputable organization. In the few instances where the attempt has been made failure has resulted and Ireland has only been benefited when the Irish people have been so united in a demand for justice that their enemies dared not risk the consequences of a refusal.

From an historical standpoint the Orangeman of the present day is unworthy of special consideration since if he wished to be honest an investigation on his part would show that his organization originated in religious prejudice, based upon false charges against his Catholic neighbor, and its continuance has been due to want of Christian charity alone. Owing to the weakness of human nature his development and prosperity were a natural growth responsive to the fostering care of the Government. That he should be wanting in the manly attributes of a healthy moral development and that he is naturally a cowardly bully is due to a guilty conscience, together with a knowledge of the deeds done by his forefathers—and so we leave him.

Before dismissing this subject it is but just to express the doubt as to how far the Orangemen, as a portion of the "Governing Class" can be held responsible as exponents.

It has already been shown the English people proper are but an aggregation of other races and this distinction between the masses and the "Governing Class" has existed since the battle of Hastings. Some twenty-five or thirty thousand families in England, descended from the Normans, have continued to hold every office of profit and have nominally, at least, directed the affairs of the British Empire with the same fixity of purpose, namely, for gain and the extension of territory, generation after generation without consideration for

the rights of others. The greater portion of the landlord class of Ireland, and essentially all the Orangemen, are but the poorer relatives of the "Governing Class" of England, and their interests are inseparable.

Comment to any greater length on this subject is unnecessary beyond presenting to the reader for contemplation the views of that classic writer and profound thinker, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

His views are the more applicable in connection with what a reviewer wrote :

"Look through all Emerson's writings and then consider whether in all literature you can find that asperation stated in such condensed words by Joubert :—'To put a whole book into a page, a whole page into a phrase and that phrase into a word !'"

The writer would include in Emerson's word of deduction the iniquity of England's dealings with Ireland, from the days of the Normans. Emerson wrote :

"The Normans came out of France into England worse men than when they went into it, 160 years before. They had lost their own language and, learning the barbarous Latin of the Gauls, had acquired with the language all the vices it had names for. The conquest has obtained in the chronicles the names of the 'memory of sorrows.' Twenty thousand thieves landed at Hastings. These founders of the House of Lords were greedy and ferocious dragons, sons of greedy and ferocious pirates. They were all alike. They took everything they could carry ; they burned, harried, violated, tortured and killed until everything English was brought to the verge of ruin. Such, however, is the illusion of antiquity and wealth, that decent and dignified men now existing boast their descent from these filthy thieves, who showed a far juster conviction of their own merits by assuming for types the swine, goat, jackal, leopard, wolf and snake which they severally resembled."¹

Evidently Emerson's Saxon blood had never been eliminated !

¹ Emerson's *English Traits*, Boston, 1884, Chapter IV., on "Race," pp. 62-63.

"The author of the 'Esprit des Lois' lays it down as a fundamental position that laws are good relatively and not absolutely. There seems to be truth in this position—in relation to Ireland."

Aubrey De Vere

CHAPTER XI

GOVERNMENT SPIES AND INFORMERS ACTIVE AMONG THE LEADERS OF 1798 IN ROUSING THE PEOPLE TO RESISTANCE—THE GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR LOSS OF LIFE, PROPERTY AND EXCESSIVE SUFFERING OF THE IRISH PEOPLE—IRISH LEADERS CHIEFLY PROTESTANTS—CATHOLICS TAKE BUT LITTLE PART EXCEPT IN WEXFORD—SECRET AGENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT PROMISE CATHOLICS FREEDOM OF WORSHIP FOR REMAINING NEUTRAL—GOVERNMENT DISREGARDS THIS PROMISE AND VIOLATES THE TERMS OF ITS TREATY WITH THE LEADERS

THE evidence now obtained is conclusive that, throughout the entire existence of the organization of the United Irishmen, the English Government was in possession of more accurate knowledge than any individual leader possessed.

Spies and informers had wormed themselves into every branch of the organization where, by their apparent zeal for the cause, they had gained the confidence of the other members. The spies gave accurate information to the Government,¹ while the informers made themselves familiar with the habits of the different individuals and obtained such knowledge as would enable them at any time to testify, in a plausible manner, *to anything and against any one* as the Government might wish. The "devil's brief" was a species of rascality peculiar to Ireland and it is only within a com-

¹ See footnote at the end of Chapter XVI.

paratively recent period that its use has been abandoned or, probably, only laid aside.

It is an old custom in Ireland for the Government or its agents to arrest any one who might be considered troublesome or whenever it was thought advisable to put such a person out of the way. Some one familiar with the law of evidence would draw up a plausible charge and an informer, properly trained, would be instructed as to what he was to swear to at the trial. By this procedure many innocent persons have lost their lives in Ireland and often their property as well; to gain the latter was frequently the incentive offered to the witness. Bearing false witness was certainly not confined to England's methods in Ireland but the refined degree of iniquity exhibited almost appealed to the sense of the ridiculous and credit at least is due the English for the close observance of "appearances," by means of which procedures were conducted with all outward propriety. Dr. Madden, in his *United Irishmen*, gives the names of a number of informers, or rather false swearers, who were on the staff of Major Sirr in Dublin during the troubles of 1798, and many other such agents were employed all over the country. Several of these men have written their memoirs, fully exposing the fact that the Government had regularly maintained the system.

Dr. Madden also gives a document, furnished by a correspondent to the *Dublin Press* in 1798, in which it is shown that Major Sirr at that time had no less than sixty-one men in his employ who could turn their hands to any crime or dirty work at his bidding. Madden writes¹:

"It appears by the statement of this correspondent, that the members of this 'battalion of testimony' were regularly drilled by Major Sirr and an officer of the name of Fox, and instructed in the act of swearing, deposing, and their other business of informers and fabricators of Information."

By Madden and others it is shown that a certain number of these wretches were attached, with quarters furnished, to

¹ *United Irishmen*, vol. i., p. 466.

every police centre. They became experts with the use of the pitch-cap and every species of torture. When a Government official was about "to present" not infrequently an innocent man and it was thought advisable that the "friends of the Government" should not appear too prominent in furnishing evidence of the prisoner's guilt, these "loyal men" then proved most expert "in preparing witnesses" out of the prisoners, who became at length willing to swear to anything that they might escape additional torture and preserve their lives.

The names of all those who bore false witness at the bidding of the representatives of the English Government in Ireland have never been published. But the accidental discovery a few years since in an ash heap of the private record kept of the disposition of the secret-service fund has identified many. By means of this record it was shown that Leonard McNally, for instance (and one instance will be sufficient for all), a supposed reputable lawyer in Dublin, who had the full confidence of the United Irishmen, was a spy in the pay of the English Government throughout. This man had passed through the troubles of 1798 without, it was supposed, having been suspected by the Government and he was in consequence regularly employed by the United Irishmen to defend those who were arrested. It is now known from the correspondence of Cornwallis and from other sources that not only was he a spy but a traitor for, after gaining the confidence of his clients, it was his custom to report to the Crown officers daily the information thus received. This monster was employed to defend Robert Emmet and when the sentence of death was passed he threw his arms around the prisoner's neck to exhibit his sympathy and did so, apparently, regardless of consequences. It is now known, from the secret-service record, that he obtained a check for one thousand pounds from the Government for that day's work, with many other sums previously, and that he had a pension until his death in 1820—going to his grave, above suspicion, as an honest man!

These informers who had become apparently identified with the United Irishmen acted entirely under the direction of the Government and they were in a position to extend the movement or to bring it to an outbreak, as they were instructed and at such time as the Government wished.¹

Newenham held the same opinion²:

“To affirm that the Government of Ireland facilitated the growth of rebellion, for the purpose of affecting the Union, would be to hold language not perhaps sufficiently warranted by facts. But to affirm that the rebellion was kept alive for that purpose, *seems perfectly warrantable*. The charge was boldly made, in the writer’s hearing, during one of the debates on the Union, by an honorable gentleman who held a profitable place under the crown. And to affirm, that that measure never would have been carried into effect, without the occurrence of a rebellion, similar in respect of its attendant and previous circumstances, to that of 1798, is to advance what nineteen in twenty men who were acquainted with the political sentiments of the Irish people, at that time, will feel little difficulty in assenting to.

“The explosion, which was now expected by all, was fortunately *accelerated by government*; perhaps under an apprehension of its becoming extensive if longer delayed. But however fortunate this step, with reference to the preservation of the existing establishments, the precipitate, rigorous and *indeed cruel expedients which were resorted to in order to hurry the rebellion prematurely into action*, can never be sufficiently deplored; inasmuch as they served to occasion, or sanction those ferocious retaliations, on the part of the rebels, which have cast an almost indelible stain on the Irish character; and can scarcely be recollected, by the kindred or friends of the sufferers, without the strongest sensations of abhorrence, and a total alienation from those whom it might be their duty and interest to protect and conciliate.”

¹ This subject will be again considered in a subsequent chapter.

² P. 269. He also gives the following note: “Many loyal inhabitants of the City of Cork are prepared to affirm that notorious rebels, men who belonged to a committee of assassination, were liberated without prosecution and suffered to remain at large.” These men were doubtless the spies and informers of the Government.

While this author writes from honest conviction and with the evident desire to be just he blindly falls into the error committed by all those of English sympathy—a confusion of cause and effect. If it were possible to have wiped out every other provocation the remaining one given by the English troops to the women of Ireland in 1798 had to be atoned from an Irish standpoint; it was not within the power of the fathers, husbands and brothers of these women to have inflicted, by any human means, a more just punishment in retaliation.

Plowden states¹:

“Although the Government had been long in possession, through the communications of Reynolds, Armstrong and other informers, of all the particulars of the conspiracy, *they had hitherto permitted or encouraged its progress, in order, as it has been alleged, that the suppression of it might be affected with more éclat and terror.* As the expected explosion however now drew so near, it was found to be necessary to arrest several of the principal conspirators, who might give directions, energy and effect to the insurrection.”

On the information given by Reynolds or Samuel Turner thirteen delegates from Leinster were arrested at the house of Oliver Bond in Dublin on March 12, 1798, and on the same day Messrs. T. A. Emmet, McNeven, Bond, Sweetman, Henry and Hugh Jackson were arrested elsewhere. Warrants were issued also for the taking of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, with Messrs. McCormack and Sampson, but they managed to escape. Lord Edward remained in Dublin and was able to avoid arrest until the 19th day of May, when he was taken by surprise, was wounded and died in consequence a few days later. *From the papers said to have been found in the houses of some of these leaders the Government pretended to have obtained the first knowledge of the intended insurrection!*

Messrs. Arthur O'Connor, Thos. Addis Emmet and Dr.

¹ Vol. iv., p. 317.

McNeven formed the Directory of the United Irishmen at the time of their arrest. In the treaty made with the Anglo-Irish Government, to check the massacres which were going on all over the country, these gentlemen stated: “*We can aver that no insurrection existed before the 12th of March, 1798.*”—The day on which the leaders were arrested!

The United Irishmen were organized by means of secret societies to obtain redress of grievances but the testimony goes to show that a resort to arms had not been determined upon or generally contemplated; and in any case only as a last resort when aid was to be expected from France.

Mr. O’Connor, a Protestant, was arrested first, and his examination on this point is taken from the official report as published:

“*Committee.* If you did not organize for the purpose of effecting a revolution, what other object had you in view?

“*O’Connor.* We saw with sorrow the cruelties practiced by the Irish Government had raised a dreadful spirit of revenge in the hearts of the people; we saw with horror that to answer their immediate views, the Irish Government had renewed the old religious feuds; we were most anxious to have such authorities as the organization ready constituted to prevent the dreadful transports of popular fury. We hoped that by having committees, by holding out the benefits of the revolution to those who supported it, and by withholding its benefits from those who should disgrace it by popular excesses, we should have been able to restrain the people. But those who had monopolized the whole political power of the constitution, finding that they stood in need of some of the population, and that from their monopoly so directly opposite to the interests of all classes of the Irish nation, they could not hope for the support of any, be their religion what it may, on the score of politics, except those in the pay of the Government. Finding how necessary it was to have some part of the population on their side, they had recourse to the old religious feuds, and set an organization of Protestants (the Orangemen), whose fanaticism would not permit them to see they were enlisted under the banners of religion, to fight for the political usurpation they abhorred.

No doubt by these means you have gained a temporary aid, but by destroying the organization of the Union (the United Irishmen) and exasperating the great body of the people, you will one day pay dearly for the aid you have derived from this temporary shift.

“*Committee.* Government had nothing to do with the Orange system, nor their extermination.

“*O'Connor.* You, my Lord (Castlereagh), from the station you fill, must be sensible that the executive of any country has it in its power to collect a vast mass of information, and you must know from the secret nature, and zeal of the Union, that its executive must have the most minute information of every act of the Irish Government. As one of the executive, it came to my knowledge, that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the nation, in endeavoring *to extend the Orange-system, and that the oath of extermination was administered*; when these facts are coupled, not only with general impunity, which has become uniformly extended towards the acts of this infernal association, but the marked encouragement its members have received from the Government, I find it impossible to exculpate the Government *from being parent and protector of these sworn extirpators!*”

This testimony establishes several important points. It shows that a resort to arms had not been decided on at the time of the arrest of the leaders and additional evidence will be offered to prove this. As an open issue at arms had not been determined on it is evident that there would have been no rebellion, if the Government had not forced an outbreak and maintained the resistance so long as these suited its purpose. Mr. O'Connor charges the Government with the deliberate purpose of exciting religious enmity throughout the country in order to exasperate the people and to drive them to desperation by the cruelties and torture practised everywhere.

Castlereagh in answer asserted that “*the Government had nothing to do with the Orange system.*”

This he knew to be untrue, as no man had been more active in carrying out the wishes of the Government and

Mr. O'Connor let him know that he understood his position fully. It was generally charged that on extending the organization of the Orangemen, under the patronage of the Government, every member was obliged to take the oath *that he would do all in his power to exterminate the Catholics.*¹ This accusation rested on the sworn testimony of a number of persons who had been forced to take the oath and who had heard it administered to others. Mr. O'Connor stated positively *that the Government had spent a large sum of money in extending this organization and that the Government was "the parent and protector of these sworn extirpators."*

Castlereagh occupied so high a position in the Government and was personally responsible to so great an extent that, if it had been possible to meet these public charges of Mr. O'Connor with a denial, he would have made the effort but he knew that they were true and that in case of denial Mr. O'Connor would have given his proof; so he remained silent.

The charge that Pitt, at the head of the English Government, was responsible entirely for all the bloodshed is also unanswerable. After the imprisonment of the leaders and after the death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was the only one who could have successfully taken charge of any military movement, an outbreak of the people would have been rendered impossible, had the English Government made the slightest concession or even wished the country to remain at peace.

The Government knew that no military organization existed and that, beyond the possession of a few pikes, the people were unarmed; that there could not possibly be a rebellion, under ordinary circumstances, because a large por-

¹ The following is stated to have been the form of the oath: "I will be true to the King and Government, and I will exterminate, as far as I am able, the Catholics of Ireland." It is but just to state that, particularly of late years, strenuous efforts have been made to prove that no oath of the kind was ever taken; this may be true but the fact will then stand that, at least during the troubles of 1798, without being bound by an oath the Orangeman generally put the Catholic to death whenever he had the power to do so.

tion of the Catholic population had not joined the societies of the United Irishmen in consequence of the secret promises made by agents of the English Government.

But to accomplish Pitt's purpose the most bitter Orange organization in the English service, the North Cork Militia, which was stationed, as we have seen, in Dublin and was regarded throughout the country with terror, for the crimes and cruelties perpetrated by it, was sent into the County Wexford to rouse the people to resistance.

We find in Teeling's work¹:

“The suppression of the United Irish Societies was the pretext, but it was a feeble—it was a false one; it was notorious that in the district where the system had made the least progress the greatest acts of outrage were perpetrated *under the sanction of the Government*; and in those quarters where the inhabitants were most remarkable for a peaceful demeanor, moral disposition, and obedience to the laws, every principal of justice and humanity was violated. Wexford, which was the scene of the greatest military atrocity, and consequently the boldest and most effectual in resistance, was at this period, less identified with the organization system of union, than any other county in Ireland. Of this fact the Government was perfectly aware; and it was only when the outraged feelings of human nature were no longer able to bear the torture of the scourge, the blaze of the incendiary, and the base violation of female virtue,² that Wexford rose as a man, and like a giant in his strength, hurled defiance at his Oppressor. . . . From the humble cot to the stately mansion, no property, no person was secure. Numbers perished under the lash, many were shot at their peaceful avocations, in the very bosom of their families, for the wanton amusement of a brutal soldiery. The torture of the pitch-cap was a subject of amusement both to officers and men, and the agonies of the unfortunate victim, writhing under the blaze of the combustible material, were increased by the yells of the soldiery and the pricking of their bayonets, until his sufferings were often terminated by death. The torture

¹ Pp. 130–132.

² We have already, on the authority of Plowden, referred to the boast of officers of rank that in large districts not a female escaped!

practiced in those days of Ireland's misery has not been equalled in the annals of the most barbarous nation, and the world has been astonished, at the close of the eighteenth century, with acts which the eye views with horror, and the heart sickens to record. Torture was resorted to, not only on the most trivial, but groundless occasions. . . . It was inflicted without mercy on every age and every condition; the child, to betray the safety of the parent; the wife, the partner of her conjugal affection; and the friend and brother have expired under the lash, when the generous scorned to betray the defenceless brother or friend. . . . Wexford is one of the minor class of counties in geographical extent, and yet in this county alone thirty-two Roman chapels were burnt by the army and armed yeomanry, within a period of less than three months, while the destruction of the domestic property kept full pace in proportion with the sacrilegious conflagration. And this was the system which Lord Camden's administration adopted for the suppression of United Irish Societies, and a tranquillization of a country, which was peaceful and submissive until blighted by its counsels. . . . But Government had obtained the object desired. *Ireland was goaded to resistance*, and security was sought for in the tented field."

It is necessary for the reader to realize the fact that a very large portion of the Catholics took no part whatever in the movement of the United Irishmen after it became a secret organization and after it was known that many of the Protestant leaders were in close sympathy with France. A very large proportion of Catholics who had been connected with the United Irishmen withdrew at an early date, when it was apparent that the granting of religious freedom to them was impossible at that time and it was feared, as they were told by the agents of the Government, that continuing the agitation would do irreparable harm. Many of the wealthy Catholics were also timid, bearing still in mind how their ancestors had suffered under the Government of James, Charles, Cromwell and William from confiscation, and consequently were unwilling to compromise themselves. Nearly all the lower classes, with the priests, detested the French

for their supposed general free-thinking tendencies and for the treatment the Catholic Church had received at the hands of the French people since the Revolution.

Newenham¹ has claimed:

“ Had it, in reality, been a Roman Catholic rebellion, the extensive counties of Cork, Galway, Kerry, Waterford, Limerick, and Clare, which contained upward of six million of acres, or nearly one third of the area of Ireland; and in which the Roman Catholics are to the Protestants as at least twenty to one upon the whole, would certainly not have remained so tranquil as they did. . . . On the contrary, the rebellion would probably have raged, with the greatest violence, in these counties; some of them, as Kerry and Galway, for instance, by the remoteness of several of their districts from garrison towns, afforded safe places for rebels to be trained to the use of arms; and, by their mountainous nature, presenting the most favorable theatres for the desultory and irregular warfare of rebels.”

In consideration of all these circumstances the crime committed by the English Government becomes the more manifest in its iniquity by selecting the county of Wexford, a portion of the country known to the Government at the time to be as loyal as any part of England. It was also well known that the organization of the United Irishmen had been unable to establish a single branch society in the county, notwithstanding it was the most densely populated Catholic portion of Ireland. Yet the Government deliberately sent into this county the most accomplished set of ruffians, as judged by their own standard, ever banded together as Orangemen—the North Cork Militia. We have already shown by Teeling how successful these worthies were in carrying out the purpose of the Government. But in his statement of all the crimes committed he neglected to refer to the frightful number of unprovoked murders committed by these men, of which not the slightest record was preserved by the authorities.²

¹ P. 273.

² See Appendix, note 14 in the First Edition.

Among the officers of the troops of Orangemen sent into Wexford at this time there was no one more active than a certain Captain Armstrong, to whose exploits many writers refer. Sampson records¹:

"It was proved that Capt. Armstrong, of the King's County Militia, who commanded the military and yeomanry at Mount Kennedy, had given orders to the scouring parties, who were almost daily sent out, that 'if they should meet with any that they knew to be rebels, or suspected to be such, not to be at the trouble of bringing them in, but to shoot them on the spot!'"

This order was carried out for several months in these sporting expeditions by wantonly slaying every man, woman or child who was thought to be a Catholic and consequently a rebel!

After Mr. Emmet's arrest and imprisonment in Dublin, as a member of the Directory of the United Irishmen, he was examined August 10, 1798, before the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, when he thus testified as to the cause of the Rebellion²:

"*Lord Chancellor.* Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection?

"*Emmet.* The free quarters, the house burnings, the tortures, and the military executions, in the Counties of Kildare, Carlow and Wicklow.

"*Lord Chancellor.* Don't you think the arrests of the 12th of March caused it?

"*Emmet.* No, but I believe *if it had not been for those arrests, it would not have taken place*; for the people irritated by what they had suffered, had been long pressing the executive to consent to an insurrection, but they had resisted or eluded it, and even determined to persevere in the same line; after these arrests, however, other persons came forward, who were irritated, and they thought differently, who consented to let that partial insurrection take place."

From the testimony which has been presented it is evi-

¹ P. 22, note.

² *Pieces of Irish History, etc.*, p. 261.

dent, as already stated, that, at the time of the arrest of the leaders, open rebellion had not been determined on or even the necessity for it anticipated until all other means had been exhausted; then only as a last resort was it thought of, in case France offered assistance. Even this last resort was not contemplated until after England's action had rendered it necessary.

It must, then, be reiterated that *the English Government stands convicted of the crime of having deliberately caused the "Rebellion" of the Irish people in 1798 and of having forced this issue that she might be able to perpetrate even a greater crime in bringing about the so-called Union.*

Wexford was at length in arms and from this county the conflict extended rapidly over the neighboring counties; but only where the troops had been quartered.

According to Teeling¹:

"The naturally peaceable disposition of the inhabitants, and their patience under cruelties to which they were hourly exposed, had encouraged those who had inflicted them to greater aggressions; but when the men of Wexford rose, they displayed a spirit not calculated on by their assailants, and unprecedented in any country where an undisciplined peasantry had to contend with a regular force. The rapidity of their movements, the boldness of their designs, their courage, perseverance, and astonishing success, had given such ascendancy to their arms, as baffled every effort of their enemies, and seemed to threaten the very extinction of the power to which they were opposed.

"Orland was the first scene of action. On the morning of the 27th of May it was occupied by the United forces, for Wexford was now united. Here they waited the arrival of the King's troops, who soon advanced to dislodge them. The contest was short, but it was decisive. The royal division was cut to pieces, the yeomanry fled; of the former, four soldiers only with their colonel escaped."

The English troops, with their allies the Orangemen, made but little headway and the statement of Sir Ralph

¹ P. 160.

Abercrombie, the first commander-in-chief, who resigned his command in disgust, was verified as to this army in Ireland which, he said, "had become contemptible to its enemies, and formidable only to its friends."

Sampson, referring to the above given criticism of Abercrombie, wrote¹:

"And true his words did prove, when the half-naked peasants of a few counties of Ireland, without arms or ammunition, or any other leaders than those there was not wisdom to deprive them of, their misery and their despair, could wage war and gain victories over the most costly army of Europe."

At length Lord Cornwallis was placed at the head of the Irish Government and became commander-in-chief. He had shown in this country during the Revolution, at Charleston, S. C., and during his southern campaign from Charleston to Yorktown, Virginia, where he was disposed of, that he was quite competent to carry on the war in Ireland in as cruel a manner as any of his predecessors; but he was sagacious enough to see the necessity for changing his methods and for deceiving both parties.

In a letter dated April 15, 1777, Cornwallis wrote²:

"On my arrival in this country I put a stop to the burning of houses and murder of the inhabitants by the yeoman, or any other person who delighted in that amusement; and to the flogging for the purpose of extorting confession; and to the free-quarters, *which comprehend universal rape and robbery throughout the whole country.*"

Sampson continues his narrative from the last quotation:

"Lord Cornwallis, something wiser than his predecessors, or at least unactuated by party spite, saw how nearly all was lost, and formed a better plan. He shut up the houses of torture. He forbade pitched caps to be burned on men's heads. He put an end, in a great measure, to the ravishing of women and the

¹ P. 20.

² *Correspondence of Marquis Cornwallis*, vol. ii., p. 368.

killing or whipping of Irishmen for sport. He interdicted half hanging to extort confessions. He put a stop to much of the pettifogging and chicaning part of the Administration, and he offered pardon and protection to such as should lay down their arms and return to their homes. But unhappily, whether it was that the faction was too strong for him and wished to blacken him as faithless and disloyal, and to gratify their jealousy by thwarting his measures, or from the demoniac spirit that governed every measure of the State, certain it is that many had no sooner laid down their arms than they were murdered defenceless, and in one instance, particularly, the massacre of Glencoe was acted over on the Curragh of Kildare.”

In explanation of the above Sampson states in a note the following¹:

“General Dundass, when at his headquarters in Naas, on the 24th of May, received a message from a body of the Irish, that they were willing to surrender their arms, provided one Perkins should be liberated from prison, and they all be permitted to return home in peace. The general, after writing to the Castle for instructions, ratified the conditions. And a few days after, a large body who had surrendered their arms were cut to pieces at Gibbet-Rath on the Curragh. The only pretext which bears any colour of truth was that one of the rebels was foolish enough to discharge his gun in the air before he delivered it. This was done by Lord Jocelyn’s (now Lord Roden) fox-hunters, under the orders of Sir James Duff, who had written that morning to General Lake, that he would make a dreadful example of the rebels. No reprimand was ever given, no enquiry made, and doubtless the act was much applauded.”²

Cornwallis’s conciliatory spirit did not, however, last long. From the earliest record to a comparatively recent date, many in command of English troops in Ireland have been treacherous and have never hesitated to violate their pledge of quarter by slaughtering prisoners or allowing them to die

¹ P. 21.

² See the Rev. James Gordon’s *History of the Rebellion*, p. 101, and Plowden, vol. iv., p. 341.

from starvation or barbarous treatment in prison. Throughout Queen Elizabeth's reign and down to the beginning of the nineteenth century there are too many well-authenticated cases on record to have this statement questioned. The conduct of the official but reflects the policy of the Government.

It has been asserted that the British Government never willingly accepts an alliance or treaty obligation unless it be drawn in every respect to her advantage. There have certainly been good grounds for this statement whenever England has come into relation with a weaker Power; but we will limit the charge to Ireland. If "history" is to be relied upon, the pledge of the English Government or the word of one of its officials in a public capacity, from the first promise ever made to the people of Ireland down to the present day, has been as unreliable as the Punic faith of old.

After Cornwallis took charge of the English Army in Ireland the unequal contest could not be long sustained. The want of an organized commissariat rendered it necessary for the Irish to subdivide their forces and the smaller bodies were defeated in detail by greater numbers. The Irish also suffered from the want of proper leaders; and towards the end they were led almost entirely by their priests, who were devoid of all military training. The English writers have represented Father Murphy, who commanded at the battle of Arklow, and all the other priests who were leaders as disreputable drunkards and the attempt has even been made to show that a number of them had been suspended from their religious functions. The investigations of the writer have shown that it is scarcely possible for any statement to be made which could be more devoid of truth.

A statement was published by the English authorities, as coming from a Catholic bishop, to show that some of these clergymen had not been reputable. If it be true that the bishop was responsible for the statement it will only show that in the weakness of human nature he was corrupted, as England had often succeeded in doing before, and the bishop got his price for bearing false witness.

The Rev. Father Murphy was taken prisoner and hanged, and the other priests were all killed in battle, yet all had been loyal to the English Government, and had been without exception opposed to the movement of the United Irishmen so that no branch of the organization existed in their parishes. They had held their flocks in check until their churches and residences had been wantonly burned over their heads by the Orangemen, until they had been subjected to every personal indignity, until the women of their flocks had been outraged and the lives of all were in danger; they were then forced to head the men of their congregation to fight in self-defence.

The number of the Irish combatants was greatly reduced at an early period in consequence of a promise made by those in authority, who claimed to represent the British Government, that if the Catholics would disband and remain quietly at their homes the Government would, immediately after peace, grant a general Catholic Emancipation; this promise was accepted by the Irish Catholics in good faith! But this pledge was disregarded as usual and no steps were taken to fulfil it until some thirty years later, when the Government was forced to grant this act of justice as a matter of expediency.

The late Mr. Davitt stated¹:

“Edmund Burke urged Pitt to emancipate the Catholics of Ireland otherwise they would join the Protestant United Irishmen conspiracy hatched in Belfast. Pitt promised Archbishop Troy and the Irish bishops he would do this, and on the strength of this insidious pledge the Catholic hierarchy were parties to the sale of the Irish Parliament. Wolfe Tone and the men who could have liberated the country at the time, had there been any patriotism among the bishops and priests of the period, were thrown over for English promises, and Archbishop Troy and his pro-English conspirators got their reward in the usual English breach of faith in engagements based upon their proverbial deception and

¹ *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland, etc.*, by Michael Davitt, London and New York, 1904, vol. i., p. 401.

treachery. When emancipation did come, it was granted through fear of insurrection, in which the bishops would have played no part, and not in any decent desire to redeem the broken pledge of the chief architect of the act of the Union."

Mr. Rufus King, while he was the American Minister at the Court of St. James in 1798, made a protest against the Irish leaders being allowed, on their release, to come to the United States. In 1807 Mr. Emmet had occasion in this country to call for an explanation from Mr. King and the following extract is taken from his letter, for the purpose of showing the nature of a compact which was entered into between the State prisoners and the Government. Mr. Emmet wrote¹:

"Permit me, however, Sir, before entering upon that interesting topic, to make a few general observations touching myself. Mr. Coleman² had brought forward some extracts from the reports of the Secret Committee in Ireland. I think it more than probable that he was not himself in possession of these documents,—from whom did he receive them? There is no person in this country more likely to have them than the gentleman who was at the time the resident minister to London. When you handed them to him, perhaps your memory might have served you to state that as soon as these reports appeared in the public prints, Dr. Mcneven, Mr. O'Connor and myself, at that time State prisoners, by an advertisement to which we subscribed our names, protested against the falsehood and accuracy of these reports; for which act we were remitted to close custody in our rooms for upwards of three months, and a proposal was made in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. M'Naghton, an Orangeman, to take us out and hang us without trial.

"In the summer of 1798, after the attempt of the people of Ireland for their emancipation had been completely defeated; after every armed body had been dispersed or had surrendered, except a few men that had taken refuge in the mountains of Wicklow; while military tribunals, house burnings, shootings, torture and every kind of devastation were desolating and overwhelming the

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, p. 289.

² Editor *New York Evening Post*.

defenceless inhabitants, some of the State prisoners then in confinement, entered into a negotiation with the Irish Ministers for effecting a general amnesty; and as an inducement offered, among other things not necessary to the examination of your conduct, to emigrate to such country as might be agreed upon between them and the Government."

On the part of the prisoners it was stipulated that those who had formed the Directory, Messrs. Emmet and O'Connor and Dr. McNeven, should appear before a Committee appointed by Parliament and answer such questions relating to the cause and progress of the " Rebellion " as could be answered without involving individuals; and in addition other leaders were to use their influence with those who were still in arms that the strife might at once be terminated.

Mr. Emmet, in his letter to Mr. King, continues as follows:

" The offer was accepted, the bloody system was stopped for a time and was not renewed until after your interference and after the British Ministry had resolved openly to break its faith with us. On our part, we performed our stipulations with the most punctilious fidelity, but in such manner as to preserve to us the warmest approbation of our friends, and to excite the greatest dissatisfaction to our enemies. Government soon perceived, that on the score of interest, it had calculated badly, and had gained nothing by the contract. It was afraid of letting us go at large to develop and detect the misrepresentations and calumnies that were studiously set afloat, and had therefore, I am convinced, determined to violate its engagement by keeping us prisoners as long as possible. . . . Your interference was then, Sir, made the pretext of detaining us for four years in custody. . . . The British Ministry had resolved to detain us prisoners contrary to their plighted honour; and you, Sir, I fear, lent your Ministerial character to enable them to commit an act of perfidy, which they would not otherwise have dared to perpetrate."

This is but another instance of the total disregard of the English Government for any obligation contracted in Ireland, after the compact had ceased to be advantageous.

When the ministers of the Government realized from their spies that they were already in possession of the greater part of the information the leaders could give and that nearly all those who had been in arms had been exterminated. They did not hesitate then to violate their honor, notwithstanding that they themselves had originated the proposition and had expected the Government to derive from it the greater benefit.

Consequently eighteen of the Irish leaders were imprisoned for four years in Dublin and Fort George, Scotland, without sufficient evidence, even in Ireland, to place a single one of them on trial.

Barrington was a member of the Irish Parliament at the time when Pitt was at length able to accomplish his purpose of a "Union," to which Barrington was opposed. He states¹:

"Ireland was now reduced to a state fitted to receive propositions for a Union. The loyalists were still struggling through the embers of a rebellion, scarcely extinguished by the torrents of blood which had been poured upon them; the insurgents were artfully distracted between the hopes of mercy and the fear of punishment; the Viceroy had seduced the Catholics by delusive hopes of Emancipation whilst the Protestants were equally assured of their ascendancy, and every encouragement was held out to the Sectarians. Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh seemed to have been created for such a crisis and for each other. An unremitting perseverance, an absence of all political compunctions, an unqualified contempt for public opinion, and a disregard of every constitutional principle, were common to both. They held that 'the object justifies the means': and, unfortunately, their private characters were calculated to screen their public conduct from popular suspicion."

The *purpose* of Pitt, at the head of the English Government, should never be lost sight of by the reader. His first step was to force the people into the "Rebellion" of 1798, as

¹ *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, by Sir Jonah Barrington, New York, 1858, p. 371.

we have shown. To insure the movement the Government gave free license and protection to the Orangemen, that the Catholics might suffer from every crime at their hands and even more than in the halcyon days of persecution under Queen Elizabeth.

Dr. Madden states¹:

“ Terrible sufferings were endured by the Irish people in 1797 and 1798. But the Government of Ireland at that time, and the British Minister, William Pitt, who guided its course, were as deaf as adders to all complaints of these sufferings. We need not expend all our denunciations on the crimes and the State Criminals of the Convention or Directory of France. . . . The man in Ireland of our terrorists who, perhaps, resembled Robespierre most in cool phlegmatic insensibility, and calm, unruffled, imperturbable indifference for the effusion of blood in the accomplishment of his political ends was Lord Castlereagh. . . . The secret of Robespierre’s early rise and seizure of power was a vigilant observance of the actors of his time, and of the aspirants to political notoriety, which made him familiar with the peculiarities, the passions, and opinions, and the weakness of public men of his times. Such was the secret, too, of the rise of Robert Stewart (Lord Castlereagh), the Volunteer, the delegate of the convention of Dungannon, the pledged reformer, the member of parliament, the corrupter and buyer-up of its members; the man who dallied with sedition, and *vaunted of having caused rebellion to explode prematurely, who sought in that rebellion the accomplishment of a political object and achieved it for his Master* at the expense, be it remembered, of more blood than ever Robespierre caused to be shed—of seventy thousand human beings.” (And in a note following:) “ Twenty thousand of the King’s troops, and fifty thousand of the people perished in this rebellion.”

It is doubtful if even an approximation of the number of lives lost can now be ascertained. But from the testimony we are able to procure it is not improbable that three times the number given above, of those who fell in battle, would not be in excess of the wilful murders com-

¹ Vol. i., p. 353.

mitted by the Orangemen in their daily raids on the defenceless men, women and children who by chance came in their way. No prisoners were ever brought in by these parties. The charge has never been disproved, although denied, that on becoming an Orangeman these men took an oath to exterminate the Catholics so far as their individual efforts could accomplish that purpose!

Their commanding officers, as we have seen, gave orders not to take the trouble to bring any in but to put to death any person, met by accident, "*who might be suspected of being a rebel*" and, consequently from their standpoint, a Catholic; so no one escaped if defenceless!

Dr. Madden wrote in his *Lives of the United Irishmen*: "It is generally admitted by all, but more especially by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, that very many more were put to death in cold blood, than perished in the field of Battle. The number of deaths arising from torture or massacre, where no resistance was offered, during the year 1798, forms the far greater portion of the total number slain in this contest." The words of Mr. Gordon are¹: "I have reason to think, more men than fell in battle were slain in cold blood. *No quarter was given to persons taken prisoners, as Rebels, with or without arms!*"

The Rev. James Gordon was in sympathy with the English Government and with the Orange faction, so far as an honest man could be. He lived at the time and in the midst of the scenes he describes. On page 229 he makes the additional statement:

"A mode of proceeding against imputed rebels, more summary still than that of trials by court-martial, was practiced from the commencement of the rebellion by soldiers, yeomen and supplementaries, who frequently executed without any trial, such as they judged worthy of death, even persons found unarmed in their own houses. This practice of the soldiers and yeomen, which, *conducted with too little discrimination of guilt and innocence*, denied safety at home to the peaceably inclined, &c."

¹ P. 269.

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This writer had three sons and other relatives, officers in the yeoman troops, so that while stating the truth he has unconsciously been influenced in underrating the horrible condition of license which existed.

It is but just to the Orangemen, and they stand in need of all extenuating circumstances, to state that they were frequently under the command of English officers who should have held them in check. A number of these officers served in the American Revolution, where they were often guilty to the greatest degree of cruelty and debauchery, therefore it is not likely that they disapproved the excesses committed by the Orangemen under their command. The names of many of these English officers, as well as their exploits, are very familiar to the student of American history. Throughout the Revolutionary War their treatment of prisoners was notorious and only the fear of retaliation, which had to be resorted to, ever held them in check. The horrors of the English prison ship and of their provost jails are too familiar to the student to need further comment. But to show the reader what seems to be the natural proclivity of the English soldier, when opposed to a weaker power, and that his course in Ireland for centuries past has not been exceptional to that country, the writer will refer the reader to a quotation given in the Appendix from Thacher's *Military Journal*,¹ in which is given a portion of a well-known speech made by Governor William Livingston to the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey on March 5, 1776. The Governor, who was also a military man, appeared before that body to urge a resort to retaliation for their protection. A like communication from Governor John Rutledge¹ to the Legislature of South Carolina will be found in the Appendix.

The people of Ireland have suffered even to a greater degree than Governor Livingston or Governor Rutledge charged; and so have the people in every part of the world

¹ *Military Journal*, etc., second edition, by James Thacher, M.B., Boston, 1827, p. 78. See Appendix, note 15 in the First Edition.

suffered wherever an English soldier has placed his foot, unless his opponent were strong enough to retaliate. Yet many of these officers in command were by birth and education gentlemen and men of refinement at home. We cannot therefore in all instances charge the individual with full responsibility; so long as he controlled his lust in other relations we must regard him rather as an exponent of the long settled policy of the British Government. As soon as a soldier enters the public service he becomes but part of the great machine for oppressing all but the English people themselves and his course is regulated to-day in India, South Africa or elsewhere by the same selfish influence which developed his brutality in Ireland from the days of the Normans to the present time; and nothing but the fear of a stronger power ever held it in check.

¹ *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*, etc., by Alexander Garden, Brooklyn reprint, 1865, vol. iii., p. 242, and see Appendix, note 15 in the First Edition.

Every attempt to govern Ireland has been made from an English standpoint, and as if for the benefit of Englishmen alone.

CHAPTER XII

IRELAND RECEIVED NO BENEFIT FROM THE "UNION"—AN ESSAY BY DR. MCNEVEN—ENGLAND HAS ALWAYS VIOLATED HER TREATY OBLIGATIONS WHEN TO HER ADVANTAGE—SHE IGNORES HER TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION UNTIL FORCED TO OBSERVE ITS TERMS—EXTRACTS FROM WRITINGS OF MISS EMMET

IRELAND received no benefit from the Union with England but, as a part of history, it is of interest now to consider what was promised as a consequence of its consummation.

It is instructive to study the convictions of those who opposed the measure and a knowledge thereon is not without profit. As the chief objections offered against the proposed Union were fully realized by all who were familiar with the subject, we will limit the selection to one writer—and there is fitness in the choice.

Extracts will be taken from an essay written by Dr. McNeven,¹ who it will be recollected was one of the Directory of the United Irishmen and was arrested with other leaders in the spring of 1798. Dr. McNeven must have written this pamphlet and had it printed while in Newgate Prison, Dublin, before the leaders were placed in close confinement, deprived of sunlight and fresh air and a sufficient amount

¹ *An Argument for Independence, in Opposition to an Union. Addressed to all His Countrymen.* By an Irish Catholic. "Now I ask you what is it that has given you everything? Is it not time? And as time has given you everything, reflect that time may also take everything away from you; but time is not necessary—negotiation alone is sufficient to undo you. 'When have you Demanded that you have not succeeded? and *when have you negotiated, that you have not been deceived?*'"—Flood, Dublin, J. Stockdale & Co., 1799, p. 51.

of food; before they were denied the use of books, pen, ink and paper. From Dr. McNeven's own copy, filled afterwards with his own annotations, we take the following extracts:

"There is now no affectation of denying, that the projected Union between Ireland and Great Britain will be submitted in the next session to the consideration of Parliament; nor does any person who considers the constitution of that assembly, in the least doubt what will be the decision of the question. But while it is not yet treason to discuss the subject, an Irishman may indulge the melancholy satisfaction of sympathizing with his countrymen upon the impending calamity. . . . *Has England ever done a voluntary or gratuitous favour?* And if not whether shall we attribute this measure of an Union, to a regard for us, or for herself? If she has not dared to propose, though she has betrayed the desire of proposing, this measure, during the existence of national harmony, and consequent vigour, but brings it now forward, when civil strife and fatal animosities have set those in hostile opposition, who should be united for their common freedom; when she expects that one despicable set of monopolists, increasing in rancour in proportion to their crimes, will give up Ireland, rather than share it in equal liberty with their countrymen; and when she expects, falsely I hope expects, that the mass of Irish population, in order to be revenged of its adversaries, will consent to the ruin, does she not, by such conduct, disclose her own judgment of the scheme, and pursue the policy of all ambitious and unprincipled powers, who take advantage of the dissensions of their neighbours, to promote their own selfish ends of aggrandizement?

"It is England which seeks for this Union, not Ireland; England forces this Union, not Ireland; and England will take care to benefit by the measure, which she alone pushes forward in the crisis of our folly. Our prospects therefore, in the first instance, is no other than the loss of every fostering, every defensive power, which a nation should possess; and that England, as the stronger party in this competition, will, whenever she chooses, violate the compact which she alone will have formed.

"But the fact is, temptations will arise along with the power of violating the reciprocity of the compact. The same inducements

will remain of self-interest, and monopoly, and avarice, which led to the annihilation of the woollen manufacture, and the virtual prevention of many others to which our situation was adapted. Will not those English members of Parliament, who applaud the system of torture and massacre, of house-burning, rapine and rape, so indiscriminately and so extensively practiced under the late Administration, will they not approve also of coercing Irish pockets, for the benefit of the empire?

“ We shall be governed like a conquered people : and with them, we shall be ill governed.

“ The proposed Union resolves itself into a *treaty*, which will profess, like all other treaties, that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between the high contracting parties, but in which, differently from all other treaties, *one of the parties which would naturally defend its own compact, will be annihilated by the very act !*

“ Let not the domestic animosities of the moment blind us to the conduct already observed by England, towards a large portion of the people of this country. The articles of Limerick were as solemn a treaty as the present can be; and the consideration given at that day, by the Irish, was an invaluable price for the benefits those articles should have secured; but the Catholics relied upon English good faith, and in the end were the victims of their credulity.

“ In like manner, the Articles of the Scotch Union were violated in a case favourable to England. The Scotch members, highly to their honour, resisted the infringement as far as their numbers would enable them, but they were the minority party, and not permitted to ward off the evil; neither had they power to dissolve the treaty.

“ It were advisable for the Irish Parliament to pause upon these two examples, before it enters upon a negotiation with England, by which it is to be annihilated as a contracting party; and, honestly, to remember that in these two (the only ones in which the parties on one side, made a surrender of their effective power), the treaties were infringed.

“ For us to form an estimate of their future conduct, there can be no better rule than their past infidelity; especially *as in all acts of this nature, the nation has been an accomplice with its government. In its relation with other States, the instances of Punic faith are numberless ;* though in these, annexed to the odium of the

violation, there was danger of chastisement; but I shall notice only one; certain forts bordering on the lakes and the Indian territory should have been evacuated after the last general peace, and ceded to America; but as they were valuable stations for monopolizing the fur trade, they were held in possession¹ under various pretexts, and at one time at the hazard of hostilities. As soon as views of greater interest showed that it would be better to conciliate than longer to defy the Americans; when the latter, by favouring the French, could so materially hurt the English, and so easily vindicate themselves; then, and not till then, was the treaty of 1783 complied with in all its parts; England manifesting in this double proceeding, *how little she regarded the mere obligations of justice; how entirely she is swayed by the allurements of gain.*²

"It is in this monopolizing and delusive spirit, that England puts forward *as a favour granted to this country*, the premium she gives to her own merchants upon the export of our linens; by which she endeavours to make them the factors of our only great staple, giving to them the profits of commission and freight, and to her sailors the advantage of employment!

"If the Union be once carried, it will be used to the only purpose, in which it can be more beneficial to England than the

¹ These forts, situated along the northern border of the United States on the south side of the northern lakes, were to have been surrendered immediately after the termination of the Revolution in 1783, but England found the stations profitable and retained possession until after the Jay treaty was signed in 1795. She was then forced to give them up or she would have had to take the consequences of a war with this country. But she ignored the treaty obligation so long as the United States was unable to enforce it!

² England's disregard of treaty or the observance of any obligation, unless when prompted by interest or the fear of a stronger Power, has been already shown. Governor John Rutledge's address relating to the outrages committed by the English troops has been given in the Appendix. In another portion of the same communication addressed to the Legislature of South Carolina, he thus expresses his opinion: "Each time the proceedings of that nation sully the pages of history there will be a nation without faith, by whom oaths, treaties, and the most solemn engagements have only been regarded as part of the game; who have renounced, without scruple or remorse, all regard for humanity, honour, justice, and every sentiment that can enoble the human heart. It is almost impossible to conceive any circumstance that could aggravate the atrocious wickedness of their conduct. There is not one degree left in the scale of degradation for the name of Briton to become henceforth an insult among the nations of the world."

present connection; to enable her to mortgage this country for her debt, and increase her exhausted facility of borrowing, by enlarging the security. This will involve an extension of her taxes.

“Can 40,000 men be necessary to enforce a benefit? We have not unfrequently seen them employed to effect a people’s ruin, and thank GOD! sometimes so employed in vain. The extension of debt and taxes, which is to be the reciprocity of the Union, is wisely not left to stand upon its own merits, but requires to be organized by mercenary bayonets.

“We ourselves have prospered in proportion as our subjection to England has been lessened; and America, after throwing off her dominion altogether, is become, in a short space of sixteen years, one of the most prosperous countries on the globe.

“Take this Union then, as it affects all the sources of wealth and consequence, it will be found one of the most overbearing and rapacious projects, which power can dictate to a fallen people; take it, as it affects constitution and national dignity, it is one of the most insulting and despotic.

“The Orange barbarities were fomented with a view to ripen this catastrophe: but let me not sully my page with party appellations, and fall into the snares of our enemies.

“Who does not perceive the same hostile power which fomented our unhappy disputes, seeking to reap the harvest of its profligate intrigues, when it presumes to think that our resentments and folly have so degraded us, as to make us look for reciprocal satisfaction, in mutual annihilation? But, countrymen! let this infamous attack rally you round the standard of independence. In spite of your dissensions, you are still children of the same parent. The veriest Orangeman among you need not go to England, and the Irish stranger will be taught by the contumely with which he is received, that he belongs to another country; and will you then cast away all which gives that country rank, and retain of Ireland nothing but her brogue? O let one wise and generous act of patriotism bury your nonsensical quarrels in oblivion. Learn from this odious conspiracy against your independence, that if you have been indulged in the monstrous facility of cutting each other’s throats, it was in order to resume that dominion over your properties and trade, which was once reluctantly yielded to your unanimity and spirit; but above all, let me conjure

you, Catholics, and you who are advocates of reform, and lovers of liberty, not to give countenance to an incorporating Union.

“The machinations of our enemies will, I trust, be turned to their own confusion, and my beloved countrymen at last convinced, *that to be cordially united to each other, is the only shield of safety and of freedom.*”

Mr. Emmet has placed on record a description of the true political condition of Ireland at the beginning of the nineteenth century and just previous to the time when the English Government forced the so-called Union upon the Irish people. He wrote¹:

“Her rulers are English, and totally divested of all kinds of Irish responsibility. Her legislature is devoted to the English Ministry and practically unconnected with the Irish nation. On the Lords it would be absurd to bestow a thought, nor are the Commons deserving of more attention. Three-fourths of the people are formally excluded, by the Catholic laws, from being counted among their constituents; and the other fourth is but as dust in the balance. Exclusive of private adventurers in the political market, *about thirty individuals*, principally Lords, *possess the power of returning a majority* in the House of Commons, and even two-thirds of the representation are engrossed by less than one hundred persons. *These wholesale dealers as regularly sell their members as a country grazier does his cattle, and the steady purchaser is the British Agent. Such is the Irish Government.*”

Miss Mary Ann Emmet, the sister of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, after writing in opposition to the proposed Bill for the Union, apparently accepted the inevitable and wrote²:

“I have seen with indignation, suspended by astonishment, the efforts which have been made use of to raise an opposition to the intended measure of an Union. I have attended with anxiety to what might be the result of this opposition, and I have been convinced that on your part it will be impotent and injurious.

“The period is a singular one, the events of the present year

¹ *Pieces of Irish History*, etc., p. 5.

² These extracts are taken from *An Address to the People of Ireland*, Show-

mock the calculations of the last, and where the revolution of the public mind will rest, who will be daring enough to say, who would have been hardy enough to predict in 1798, that at the commencement of 1799, Parliament would oppose the measure of the British Minister? Who could have foreseen and by whom would it have been believed, that patriotism, long suffering, much reviled and much calumniated patriotism, driven from the northern coast to seek refuge on the sea-beaten wilds of the west—pursued wherever it could be traced, by extermination—branded wherever it rose, with infamy—and marked wherever it was met, for destruction, that spirit, against which every hand of power was raised, which like the troubled dove, could find no place on which to fix its feet, on which to rest its wing; should seek and should find a sanctuary in the great chair of the House of Commons, and animate the declamation of the opposition?¹

“Accustomed as I have been to consider Parliament not as the sanctuary of patriotism, the adoption of the name does not bring conviction to my mind that they are animated by the spirit; and I warn my countrymen to beware of the delusion. You are called on to oppose this Union, and to preserve your rights. Now, I ask the men who call on you, what rights you have to support? I ask Parliament what right *they* have not wrested from you? They adjure you to support the Constitution. Alas! for that Constitution, originally a shadow, now embodies a substance of corruption. You are called upon to resist, *what?* Not *op-*

ing Them why They ought to Submit to the Union, with the motto, “Of comfort no man speak; let’s talk of graves, of worms and epitaphs.” Dublin, 1799, p. 16. (See Appendix, note 5.) Dr. Madden states: “This pamphlet is written with very great power and its mode of *advocating* the Union may be gathered from its motto. The design of this extraordinary production was to expose to the people the true character of the new-born patriotism of such men as John Claudius Beresford, the Right Honourable John Foster, Lord Kingsborough, Lord Cole, Colonel Barry, Messrs. Whaley, Saurin, Vereker and Bagwell; many of whom were then (1799) red hot ‘patriots,’ who in the year following were not ashamed to sell their country; but thankful to Providence (as one of them had the candour to acknowledge) that they had a country to sell. We have spoken of this pamphlet as an extraordinary production; a few extracts from it will show that the term has not been misapplied. The reader will please to remember that it was written forty-four (over one hundred) years ago.” —*The United Irishmen*, etc., third series, p. 20, 1860. See Appendix, note 16.

¹ Reference is made to the Hon. John Foster, the Speaker.

pression, it has been *protected*. Not *injustice*, it has been *legalized*. Not *cruelty*, it has been *indemnified*. You are called on to resist an Union. You are called upon to oppose an incorporation, by which you are to lose—a name. . . . If I am to bend to the altar of British supremacy, if I am to wear the chains of everlasting slavery, it matters not to me whether I wear them as an Irishman, or a West Briton. It matters not to me, whether my fetters are forged in East or West Briton; if I am to receive the essence I will not war about the form in which it is presented to me. If you had one right unalienated, I, too, would say to you, while the life blood flowed from my heart in defence of that right—never submit to an Union—never, never, never!

“ Is it for the convention, the insurrection, and the indemnity acts, that you are to resist the annihilation of the Parliament which passed them? While those bills stand recorded on their journals Parliament ought to know that the country cannot dread their extinction. And if the minister of England wishes to use any argument but military force for the accomplishment of this measure, let him present that statute book to the people and ask them—‘ Why should I wish the duration of this Parliament? Do you not feel that I am omnipotent in it? Are not my mandates written here in blood? ’

“ If the Parliament meant fairly by the people, if they wished to gain their confidence or to deserve it, they would expunge from their records those acts which must forever blast confidence and destroy hope. They would say to the people, Countrymen, we are men, and we are weak—we have injured you, most deeply, most fatally—we were placed here to protect, and we have destroyed you; but we will repair that injury, we will revoke that destruction. We here repeal, in the face of our country, that code which the barbarous prejudices of our ancestors instituted—we repeal, too, that code, which our own sanguinary policy framed. We return into your hands the power which you delegated to us; purify it, regulate and restrict it; and from the sovereignty of the people, if the people wills it, we will again receive it. Parliament of Ireland, act thus, and the people *will* oppose an Union. Expunge from your statutes those sanguinary proscriptions; and a generous people will erase from their remembrance, the recollection that they ever existed, from their

bosoms, the feelings which they have excited. Do this, and you will stand; if you do not, you sink.

“The people see that the minister may be defeated; they see that those very laws, which are enforced against them, are nugatory against the higher orders—they see the Convention Bill infringed by the very men who framed it; and county meetings called universally under the auspices of Members of Parliament.

“If great men have a right to call county meetings to express their disapprobation of one measure, have not poor men a right to call them, to express their wishes for another? Are laws only binding, when they are to restrict a people from stating their grievances, from demanding redress? County meetings ought to be called, the people ought to instruct their representatives to examine into their grievances, to redress them; to frame a Parliament reform on the broad principles of immutable justice and universal franchise; they ought to instruct them to address the King, to withdraw his foreign troops, only retained here to intimidate and extirpate.

“I shall not enter into a discussion of the merits or justice of the measure; in my mind, there can be but one opinion as to its justice; and but one argument for its adoption, necessity. If I was inclined to oppose an Union, it should be with the speech of the English Minister; in which I cannot find one argument in favour of it, save that one to the potency of which I bow—*Force*.

“For what think you, is the daily importation of English soldiers? Is it to subdue rebellion? Rebellion no longer exists and the work of extirpation is nearly over; the Ancient Britons are fully equal to the accomplishing of that—it is to intimidate—it is to tell you, in a language that it would be stupidity not to understand and it is madness not to attend to, that the Minister of England wills an Union. As long as foreign troops are spread over your country, as long as they swarm in your capital, trust me an Union is not relinquished, trust me it is the intention to dragoon you into the acceptance of it; and as long as you, legislators of the land, permit, without representation or complaint, force and illegality to stalk triumphant through your streets, you cannot wonder if the People doubt your sincerity and feel an indifference about your existence.

“Nor shall I dwell more on the advantages which are to accrue to this country from an Union than I have done on the justice of

the measure; nor do I believe that one advantage will result from it, or from any other convention between Ireland and Great Britain, which the English Minister proposes, and which the English mercantile interest approves of, no convention or community of interest ever will be equitably conducted when both parties are not equally able to assert their own rights, and to resist the innovations or injustice of the other. How far our commerce is likely to be fostered by the hand which has nearly crushed it, or our rights attended to by the power which has annihilated them, it is not necessary to be commented upon. I beg my countrymen not to suppose, that I think the measure is a good one; no, but I know it to be inevitable, I beg them not to suppose that I place the smallest reliance, on the promises of equity, and disinterestedness of the Minister. No, but I know that we cannot either reject the measure, or insist on the performance of the treaty; I know that our part of it will be signed and most strictly performed, and that the English part of it will be filled up, how and when it suits the Minister.

*“I would beg the people to remember that it is the wish of the Minister to have them in a state of insurrection that he may have a pretext for this measure; it was his wish to have them driven into insurrection before; it was his command to goad them into it; and hence the system of unparalleled cruelties which we have witnessed.”*¹

“It was equally the wish of the friends of the country, to keep the People from commotion, as it was that of the Minister to bring them to it.

“Insurrection has been one of the favourites of that man (Pitt); he has tried it in France; he has attempted it in Holland; and he effected it in Ireland—steering wide, in his political career, of every principle of avowed and understood policy; he astonishes and awes,—bewilders and leads a fascinated people. Minister of England, you are a great man! while I detest your principles and deprecate your measures, I admit your abilities!—for fifteen years you have ruled Great Britain—you have converted a fluctuating and delicate situation, into a certain and

¹ England has always pursued this policy to gain a pretext for some measure by which she alone would be benefited. In the near future she will attempt to force an outbreak in Ireland by some coercion act, that she may reduce the number of Irish members to Parliament, the only provision of the Act of the Union which has not been abrogated.

critical one.—You have blinded a selfish nation to their own interest, and led them on to their own destruction.—You have paralyzed, or energized all Europe. You have sent Liberty to the Asiatic and the Indian. You have persecuted the spirit, and the genius has arisen to avenge the persecution—wherever the fetters of slavery have gone, the Genius of Emancipation has followed— You have conceived uncommon designs— You have attempted them, and they have failed— Man of immeasurable talents, why have you not learnt that rectitude would have assisted you!—why has not your policy taught you sometimes to appear to feel like a man—and why has not your reason detected the fallacy of your crooked policy! For fifteen years you have held the helm of Britain, you have ruled her with an undivided and absolute authority—you have ruled her ill—you have been to England a bad Minister—to Ireland a destroying spirit—passing over the land with devastation, sparing only those whose thresholds *were marked with blood*. You have sought to precipitate her into a gulph which you have formed for England, and you have overwhelmed her in chaos and confusion—whether to Ireland is to rise light out of darkness, and order from discord; yet remains with that Providence, whose inscrutable wisdom works good out of evil, and often makes the crimes of men the instruments of good to the species.”

Miss Emmet in another article, addressed to Parliament, stated¹:

“ In common with most of my countrymen, I have looked with indifference to the adoption or rejection of an Union. And in common with them, I now feel the utmost alarm and anxiety at the proposal of that bill, which is, I find, to precede and ensure the hopes that you would reject this measure, from the conviction that it preceded an Union. If I did not know that its name and tenor, will ensure it many partisans, even among the opposers of the Union—if I did not know, that Parliament has been in the habit of adopting measures of coercion, without considering whether they were necessary, or whether they must not be in-

¹ *A Letter to the Irish Parliament on the Intended Bill for Loyalizing Military Law*, with the motto, “ There is no sure foundation set on blood.” Dublin, 1799, p. 15.

jurious— You had a system of coercion handed down to you from your forefathers; you have enlarged it—what has been the result? Has peace arisen from persecution, or content from oppression?— No; the people have groaned under the oppression—they have writhed under, and resisted the persecution. You have seen them discontented—have you removed the grievances? You have enacted new laws, each more oppressive than the last; you have driven them from discontent, to rebellion. Ignorance and superstition were receding from your land—you have recalled them; you have made them the inheritance of Irishmen; you have sought to make them their only birthright. But have you ever tried conciliation; have you ever attempted amelioration?— Never. From the first moment that an English foot prest this ground, to the present, the system has been a system of cruelty, untinged with mercy. I much fear that the period for Parliament to assert its independence, is past; I fear that Parliament has formed the tomb of its own independence, and the liberty of the country. An independent Parliament cannot exist in an enslaved country; the liberties of one, and the independence of the other, must exist or expire together. But if your wishes, or your misguided policy, shall induce you to continue the system of devastation; if you determine still to increase, and never to diminish the sufferings of your countrymen; you must indeed exterminate—you must destroy, not simply four hundred thousand men, you must destroy four millions of people—you must annihilate not only the present, but the growing generation. You must sweep off the earth, not Irishmen alone, but Irishwomen and Irish children! It is not enough that you tear the father from his family! the man from his country! if you leave the wife to weep for her husband, the children to lament their father; you leave increasing enemies to oppression; you add to the spirit of patriotism, the desire of vengeance. Will the woman whose husband has been torn from her, forget how she has been deprived of him? Will she not seek revenge? Too surely she will—she will support her misery, in the hope of retribution; she will teach it to her children; she will entail it on them with her blessing—and when the moment arrives to seek this vengeance, she will nerve the arm of her son, and animate his heart, by the recital of his father's sufferings, and his father's fate. The woman will forget that she

is a mother, in remembrance that she is no longer a wife! and the tears of maternal affection, suppressed by the remembrance of unavenged injuries; she will, with the unmoistened eye of corroded despair, send her only hope into the field of danger, to seek revenge. Will the boy forget that his father loved liberty? Will he not learn to love it too? He will imbibe the love of it with his mother's milk—he will en hale it from her sighs; it will be consecrated by her tears—his young and feeble hand will grasp the engine of liberty and vengeance; his beating heart, and fervid imagination anticipate the moment of resistance—and to repress oppression, and to seek liberty will seem a duty, not less imposed by filial affection, than by patriotism.

“Pause, I beseech you, before you sign the mandate of destruction; before you commit yourselves against your country; before you entail on your children the curses of your countrymen.

. . . If penal laws are to restore peace, are there not enough of them? Have you not one for every offence that can be committed, or imagined? Have you not six of your own creating? But they have proved insufficient to tranquillize a distracted country; they have irritated and inflamed the public mind—you know this; you feel this; but instead of repeating, or correcting those avowed sources of public discontent; you enact a new one, more grievous, more oppressive, than any which at present exists.

“And if this measure passes, it will indeed be your last act as a Legislative Body—for as to the Union, it is not to be considered as your measure; you would oppose it if you could; you will accept it, because you must—to you therefore does not attach any of the responsibility of that, farther than as your previous conduct has enabled the Minister to force it. “A little time, and you will not have the power either to injure or serve that devoted country— Oh yet leave it something, for which it may learn not to curse your duration, and rejoice in your extinction—let your last act be rather an act of mercy than of cruelty; so may your memory be hallowed by the forgiveness and regret of your country—if your Parliamentary career is over, do not let its termination be marked by cruelty—if the legislative sun of this horizon is to set forever, do not make it set in *blood*—let its last rays shine with the purified brightness of penitent conciliation; let its last beams diffuse vivifying warmth, which its meridian splendor denied.”

"The stubborn and advancing energy of Swift and Flood may teach us to bear up against wrong; the principles of Tone may end in liberation; but the splendid nationality of Grattan shall glorify us in every condition."

Thomas Davis

CHAPTER XIII

BILL FOR THE "UNION" PROPOSED—EFFORT TO GET A MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT—PEOPLE OPPOSED, PETITIONS SUPPRESSED—MARTIAL LAW DECLARED—PEOPLE UNABLE TO MEET FOR CONSULTATION—BILL CARRIED BY BRIBERY AND WITH IRISH MONEY, THE PEOPLE NOT BEING A PARTY THERETO

THE "Rebellion" of 1798 is considered to have commenced on the 23d of May, shortly after the arrest of all the leaders and when Wexford rose as one man in consequence of the atrocities committed by the Orangeman yeomanry quartered upon them, who were sent there to effect that end.

On the 22d of January, 1799, the Bill for the Union was first proposed by the Government and the proposition was rejected by the Irish House of Commons.

Newenham states¹:

"Petitions from the freeholds of twenty-six counties out of thirty-two, were presented against the Union in February in 1800; accompanied by petitions of the freemen, electors, merchants, &c. of ten towns, including Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Drogheda and Newry. These petitions, which then appeared without any of an opposite nature, except from the counties of Monaghan and Down, from whence petitions against the Union had also been transmitted, proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the measure was peculiarly repugnant to the wishes of the people of Ireland."

¹ P. 276.

Pitt then instructed Lord Cornwallis not to press the measure until he was certain the Government would have a majority of fifty votes. Every expedient was resorted to during a recess of Parliament for the purpose of gaining a majority of the votes by bribery.

Barrington states¹:

“ Lord Castlereagh’s first object was to introduce into the House, by means of the ‘ Place Bill,’ a sufficient number of dependents to balance all opposition. He then boldly announced his intention to turn the scale, by bribes to all who would accept them, under the name of *compensation* for the loss of patronage and interest. He publicly declared, *first* that every nobleman who returned members to Parliament should be paid, in cash fifteen thousand pounds for every member so returned: *secondly*, that every member who had *purchased a seat* in Parliament should have his purchase money repaid to him, by the Treasury of Ireland; *thirdly*, that all members of Parliament, or others, who were losers by the Union, should be fully recompensed for their losses, and that *one million, five hundred thousand pounds* should be devoted to this service; in other terms, all who supported his measure were, under some pretence or other, to share in this bank of Corruption.

“ A declaration so flagitious and treasonable was never publicly made in any country; but it had a powerful effect in his favour; and, before the meeting of Parliament, he had secured a small majority, of eight above a moiety of the numbers, and he courageously persisted.

“ After the debate on the Union in 1800, he performed his promise, and brought in a Bill to raise one million and a half of money upon the Irish people, nominally to compensate, but really to bribe their representatives, for betraying their honour and selling their country.

“ A King, bound by the principles of the British Constitution, giving his sacred and voluntary fiat to a Bill to levy taxes for the compensation of members of Parliament, for their loss of the opportunities of selling what it was criminal to sell or purchase, could scarcely be believed by the British people!

¹ Pp. 434-436.

“ There were times when Mr. Pitt would have lost his head for a tithe of his Government in Ireland: Strafford was an angel compared to that celebrated statesman.”

As we have seen, Mr. Emmet stated that some thirty persons could command a majority vote in the Irish House of Commons and, so far as is known, the million and a half pounds sterling went direct to about thirty-four individuals. Of this sum Lord Shannon was paid fifty-five thousand pounds, with other compensation, for his patronage of seven seats. The Marquis of Ely or Lord (Viscount) Loftus also obtained forty-five thousand pounds, with something in addition, for his influence with nine votes. Lord Clanmorris was made a Peer and was paid twenty-three thousand pounds cash for his influence. Altogether there were about twenty lords¹ who had the patronage of naming and returning members to the House of Commons and all received fifteen thousand pounds sterling with positions and titles in addition.

Barrington writes²:

“ The English people . . . will scarcely believe that all the arts, the money, the titles, the offices, the bribes, their Minister could bestow, all the influence he possessed, all the patronage he could grant, all the promises he could make, all the threats he could use, all the terrors he could excite, all the deprivations he could inflict, could seduce or warp away scarcely more than a half of the members of the Irish Commons, from their duty to their country, and that on the question of annexation by union, his utmost efforts could not influence more than eight above the moiety of their number; yet with only 158³ out of 300, which in England would be considered a defeat, he persevered and effected the extinguishment of the legislature, a majority, which on any important question would have cashiered a British Minister. Yet such was the fact in Ireland; and the division of the 5th and 6th

¹ Of whom, with their confrères, Grattan, to express his contempt, said they were “ only fit to carry good claret to a *pôt de chambre* ! ”

² P. 430.

³ Grattan was of the opinion (as stated in his *Life*) that all had been bribed who voted for the Union, with the exception of seven members.

of February, 1800, on the Union, will remain an eternal record of the unrivalled incorruptible purity of 115 members of that Parliament."

We will now attempt to trace the progress of the bill after its introduction by Castlereagh to establish the Union.

After an all-night session and the first vote not yet taken Mr. Grattan, who had just been returned as a member and was now an invalid, was assisted into the House at seven o'clock in the morning that he might offer his protest. No man had been more active than he in 1782 in establishing Ireland's independence and, although it was about to be lost through a corrupt Parliament, of all men in Ireland it was fitting that Grattan should offer the last protest.

Barrington thus describes the scene¹:

"As he feebly tottered into the House, every member simultaneously rose from his seat. He moved slowly from the table; his languid countenance seemed to revive as he took those oaths that restored him to his pre-eminent station; the smile of inward satisfaction obviously illumined his features, and reanimation and energy seemed to kindle by the labor of his mind. The House was silent; Mr. Egan did not resume his speech; Mr. Grattan, almost breathless, as if by instinct, attempted to rise, but was unable to stand; he paused and with difficulty requested the permission of the House to deliver his sentiments without moving from his seat. This was acceded to by acclamation, and he who had left his bed of sickness to record, as he thought, his last words in the Parliament of his country, kindled gradually till his language glowed with an energy and feeling which he had seldom surpassed. After nearly two hours of the most powerful eloquence, he concluded with an undiminished vigour, miraculous to those who were unacquainted with his intellect.

"Never did a speech make more affecting impression, but it came too late. Fate had decreed the fall of Ireland, and her patriot came only to witness her overthrow. For two hours he recapitulated all the pledges that England had made and had broken, he went through the great events from 1780 to 1800,

¹ P. 442.

proved *the more than treachery which has been practiced towards the Irish people.* He had concluded, and the question was loudly called for."

Barrington continues¹:

"The day of extinguishing the liberties of Ireland had now arrived, and the sun took his last view of independent Ireland, he rose no more over a proud and prosperous nation; she was now condemned, by the British Minister, to renounce her rank among the States of Europe, she was sentenced to cancel her constitution, to disband her Commons, and disfranchise her nobility, to proclaim her incapacity, and register her corruption in the records of the empire. On this fatal event, some, whose honesty the tempter could not destroy, some whose honour he durst not assail, and many who could not control the useless language of indignation, prudently withdrew from a scene where they would have witnessed only the downfall of their country.

"The Commons House of Parliament on the last evening afforded the most melancholy example of a fine independent people, betrayed, divided, sold, and, as a State, annihilated. British clerks and officers were smuggled into her Parliament to vote away the constitution of a country to which they were strangers, and in which they had neither interest nor connection. They were employed to cancel the royal charter of the Irish Nation, *guaranteed by the British Government, sanctioned by the British legislature, and unequivocally confirmed by the words, the signature, and the great seal of their monarch.*

"The situation of the Speaker (Rt. Hon. John Foster) on that night, was of the most distressing nature; a sincere and ardent enemy of the measure, he headed its opponents; he resisted it with all the power of his mind, the resources of his experience, his influence and his eloquence. . . .

"At length the expected moment arrived, the order of the day for the third reading of the Bill, for a 'Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland,' was moved by Lord Castlereagh, unvaried, tame, cold blooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as if a simple citizen of the world, he

¹ Pp. 457-460.

seemed to have no sensation on the subject. . . . At that moment he had no country, no god but his ambition; he made his motion, and resumed his seat, with the utmost composure and indifference. . . .

“The Speaker rose slowly from that chair which had been the proud source of his honours and of his high character; for a moment he resumed his seat, but the strength of his mind sustained him in his duty, though his struggle was apparent. With that dignity which never failed to signalize his official actions, he held up the Bill for a moment in silence; he looked steadily around him on the last agony of the expiring Parliament. He at length repeated, in an emphatic tone: ‘As many as are of the opinion *that this bill* do pass, say aye.’ The affirmative was languid but indisputable; another momentary pause ensued, again his lips seemed to decline their office: at length, with an eye averted from the object which he hated, he proclaimed, in a subdued voice: ‘*The Ayes have it.*’ The fatal sentence was now pronounced, for an instant he stood statue-like; then indignantly, and with disgust, flung the Bill upon the table, and sank into his chair with an exhausted spirit. An independent country was thus degraded into a province, Ireland as a nation, was *extinguished.*”

If the concomitant circumstances be taken into consideration,—the frightful loss of life and suffering of the Irish people, the course of deception, lying and misrepresentation to which they were subjected, the total disregard of all sense of honesty, political obligation and pledged faith on the part of the English Government, during the fifteen years or more in which Pitt was preparing the way for perpetrating this crime,—history does not present an example parallel in iniquity with the accomplishment of the so-termed Union of Ireland with England.

After the Irish people had been crushed they were at length so exhausted and so discouraged that in despair the Act of the Union was quietly accepted, almost with a feeling of gratitude towards the Government for the death-like rest which afterwards came upon the country. This

condition was exactly what the Government intended to produce when it encouraged and urged the perpetration of the horrid crimes and torture which have been described.

The English Government accomplished with Irish money this fraud to which the Irish people were not a party and it was done to enrich the English people and to gain the power necessary to crush out the prosperity of the Irish race.

Honest people in England might well lower their heads in shame could they know the truth—for in justice it must be said that, as individuals, there exists a natural love of fair play among these people, even to the most brutal prize-fighter. Yet no one, with the slightest knowledge of the truth, dare deny the fact that the "Union" was at length effected, through the influence of the English Government, by bribery, by corruption and by every immoral means which has ever been hidden under the term "State-Craft"!'

So openly was the crime committed and so hopeless seemed the future that what was deemed the inevitable was submitted to with silent grief.

The following pathetic lines which are attributed to Dr. William Drennan, of Dublin, must have been an echo from the suppressed wail which burst forth from the people in that dark hour. It is said that these lines first appeared in print on the morning of the official announcement that the "Union" had been brought about by the votes of the so-called Irish Parliament, every member of which who favored the measure, it was claimed, had been bribed.

“ O Ireland! my country, the hour
 Of thy pride and thy splendor hath passed
 And the chain which was spurned in thy moment of power
 Hangs heavy around thee at last.

¹ Mr. O'Donnell in his speech against the Union aptly applied the words of the fifty-fifth Psalm (English version): "Wickedness is therein; deceit and guile go not out of their streets. For it is not my open enemy that hath done this *dishonor*, for then I could have borne it. Neither was it mine adversary that did magnify himself against me, for then peradventure I could have hid myself from him. But it was even thou, my companion, my guide, and my own familiar friend!"

There are marks in the fate of each clime;
 There are turns in the future of men;
 But the changes of realms and the changes of time
 Shall never restore thee again.
 Thou art chained to the foot of thy foe
 By links that the world cannot sever;
 With thy tyrants thro' storms and thro' calms thou shalt go;
 And thy sentence is—Bondage forever!
 Thou art doomed for the thankless to toil;
 Thou art left for the proud to disdain;
 And the blood of thy sons, and the wealth of thy soil,
 Shall be lavished and wasted in vain.
 Thy riches with taunts shall be taken;
 Thy valor with coldness repaid,
 And of millions who see thee thus lone and forsaken,
 Not one shall stand forth in thine aid.
 Among nations thy place is left void;
 Thou art lost in the list of the free;
 Even plague-stricken land, or by earthquakes destroyed,
 May arise—but no hope is for thee! ”

The amount of Irish money spent by the agents of Pitt to bring about the “Union” will in all probability never be known. An interesting study, however, presents itself in tracing the subsequent history of each member of the Irish Parliament who voted in favor of the Union. Each doubtless received a pecuniary reward and many titles as well as official position to secure the promise of his vote. As to the amount no positive information can be obtained, but it is due to the English Government to note the fact that, while every vote necessary was gained through corruption, each individual was fully cared for afterwards, as will be shown by the “Black List” compiled by Barrington¹ and reprinted in the Appendix.²

Barrington states in this connection:

“It is evident beyond all contradiction that of those who had in 1799, successfully opposed the Union, or had *declared* against

¹ *Historical Anecdotes*, p. 466.

² See Appendix, note 6.

it, Lord Castlereagh palpably purchased *twenty-five* before the *second* discussion in 1800 which made a difference of fifty votes in favour of Government; and it is therefore equally evident, that by the public and actual bribery of those twenty-five members, and not by any change of opinion in the country, or any fair or honest majority Mr. Pitt and his instruments carried the Union in the Commons House of Parliament."

The noted Irish scholar, the late Very Rev. John Canon O'Hanlon, of Dublin, thus reviews the situation ¹:

"The wily machinations of William Pitt, who especially hated Ireland, aided by his subservient creatures in the Irish administration, began the realization of a long-formed project for extinguishing the legislature, and the right of Ireland to self-government. His tortuous and malign policy was exerted to undermine the fabric of independence already reared; to introduce insidious commercial propositions restricting trade enterprise; to disappoint the hopes of Irish Catholics for Emancipation; to adopt arbitrary and atrocious measures, executed by unprincipled and corrupt officials, charged with absolute and despotic governmental powers. These proceedings fostered party spirit, and led to a sanguinary rebellion in 1798. Through the most unscrupulous of the instruments, Lords Clare and Castlereagh, and through the most shameless corruption, that measure for a legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland came before both of their Parliaments in 1799.

¹ Introduction to *Essay on the Antiquity and Constitution of Parliaments in Ireland*, by Henry Joseph Monck Mason, etc., with Preface, Life of the Author and an Introduction by the Very Rev. John, Canon O'Hanlon, Dublin, 1891, p. 125. This little work is particularly recommended to the student of Irish history, as it contains a most remarkable and exhaustive treatment of the subject in relation to the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Ireland. This sovereignty England never dared to ignore from a legal standpoint during the whole time from Henry II. to the passage of the Act for the so-called Union, notwithstanding that country frequently usurped the power. It is shown that the passage of the Act of the Union by the votes of those who had not the right to act rendered it illegal and that consequently the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Ireland has not been rightfully impaired. See also, Sir Charles Coote's *History of the Union of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, chaps. i. and ii., London, 1802.

“ This motion was defeated by a narrow majority in the Irish House of Commons, and it had to be abandoned for that session. . . . However, having effectively exercised the power of bribery and cajolery among the venal representatives who were gained over during that recess, the measure was again prepared; yet, veiled under a vague speech from the throne, on the 15th January, 1800, and in which no allusion was made to the government project. But when an amendment, affirming a resolution to maintain the Constitution of 1782, as also to support the national freedom and independence, was defeated, Lord Castle-reagh, the Irish Secretary, finding his efforts had now secured the object in view, pressed the measure of legislative union to its final and disastrous issue. It passed both houses in the course of that year.

“ The vastly greater majority of the Irish people—while among these are particularly included Protestants and even Orangemen—were united in opposition to the extinction of their native Parliament. However, when they attempted to give public and constitutional expression to their protests, meetings were almost everywhere suppressed by the arbitrary government of the time. Terrorism and deception were alternately and simultaneously employed to silence opposition or remonstrance from without. Corruption and seduction were shamelessly tried within the Houses of Lords and Commons, already filled with placemen, pensioners and traders in the sale of boroughs. After some adjustments in the British and Irish Parliaments, the Act of a Legislative Union and its articles of a treaty were proclaimed to the Irish nation, on the first day of January, 1801.

“ Robbed of their rights, which the people had neither the will nor the power to surrender, never from that time to the present have the Irish ratified or acquiesced in the measure for an incorporating union. On the contrary, their protests, complaints, and agitations are on record, every year since the commencement of this century and daily are they growing in intensity and impatience. They well understand, that the Act of Union has not conferred a single direct benefit, while it has inflicted innumerable evils, upon Ireland. . . . It has driven millions of the Irish race into distant countries, to gain that substance abroad which has been denied them at home, and with bitter memories of the

national injury perpetrated, to be imparted likewise as an inheritance to their posterity. Public opinion, which is only another expression for the public conscience, imperatively demanded a restitution in full measure for the gross injustice perpetrated, and the rights which have been subjected to such shameful violation.”

The fact is well attested that the people of Ireland, outside of the large towns, were dispersed by the English soldiers whenever they assembled for the purpose of expressing their disapproval of the proposed union. But few writers of the time, however, refer to the arbitrary arrests to which all individuals were subjected who gave any public utterance in opposition.

Staunton,¹ makes the following statement :

“ Mr. O’Connell in the Dublin Corporation discussion on the Repeal of the Union, in February, said : ‘ I, myself, remember a gentleman from Kerry, a barrister, Mr. St. John Mason ² who was hunted out of the country because he dared to put an address into a newspaper, calling on the people of Kerry to petition against the Union ; who was pursued to Roscrea and afterwards committed to Kilmainham gaol where he lay for months for no offence but attempting to petition against the Union ’ ”

Newenham, who was in favor of the Union of Ireland with England, wrote some six years after ³ :

“ Indeed the people of Ireland may be said to have been debarred from the enjoyment of their political birthright ever since that event ; and to have been exposed to, what, it must be owned,

¹ *Reasons for a Repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland*, by Alderman Staunton, etc. Dublin, 1845, p. 37. Published for the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland.

² The writer is able to bear testimony through family traditions as to the imprisonment of Mr. Mason, who was a first cousin of Robert and Thomas Addis Emmet. His term of imprisonment, however, was not for months but for several years during which time he was held without warrant and in the absence of charges preferred against him.

³ P. 275.

they did not often feel, the rigours of military despotism. Finally, the rebellion effectually prepared the way for a disadvantageous and inequitable legislative union with Britain; a measure which could never have been accomplished without it; and which many of the supporters of that measure now lament."

"O'Connell's frequent declaration was that rather than remain in the Union he would gladly take back the Irish Protestant Parliament, consent to repeal of Catholic Emancipation, and take his chance with his Irish fellow-countrymen. O'Connell was right."

John Mitchel

CHAPTER XIV

HISTORY OF THE "UNION"—THE MEN WHO CARRIED OUT PITT'S INSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR METHODS—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE FUNERAL OF CLARE AND CASTLEREAGH AND THAT OF ONE OF THE "REBELS" OF '98

BATTERSBY¹ briefly presents a history of the "Union" between England and Ireland. He begins with the query "*Who suggested the Union?*" and continues:

"Had the Union been suggested by *Irishmen*, who had the interest of their country at heart; had they found that *English statesmen* were more and more inclined to do it full justice, '*not in word but in deed and truth*'; and were they convinced that the Union would have given the legislature greater power to do good for Ireland, to have *diminished* the *Absentees*, increased her agriculture, manufacture and commerce, and *bettered the condition of the people at large*, then indeed we might attribute to unforeseen circumstances, and not to premeditated malice, whatever evils subsequently followed this fatal measure. But if we find it suggested by English statesmen and others, who designed to make use of this Union, only to render Ireland more *subservient* to *England*, to increase the number of absentees, to destroy legislative power, to diminish her agriculture, manufacture and commerce, and to reduce her people to the lowest state of misery, that by these means, according to the machiavellian policy, they might the more effectually '*divide and conquer!*' then we might know what we should expect from such an Union, and rest persuaded that it could not be for the good of Ireland, or for the happiness of her people, it was proposed.

¹ *Repealer's Manual on Absenteeism: the Union Re-Considered*, Dublin, 1833, p. 115.

“ Who then suggested it ? There can be no doubt but what it was originally suggested by Elizabeth or her wicked ministers, who committed such ravages in Ireland, and taught by *fire and sword*, the ‘ love they entertained for the land of St. Patrick,’ and for those who contemptuously rejected their ‘ hated creed of lust and crime.’

“ History informs us that Sir William Petty was one of those who proposed the legislative Union of England and Ireland, under the conviction that it was the most effectual method of rendering Ireland subservient to England.

“ Cromwell, of ‘ holy memory,’ wishing to see how the thing could be accomplished, *attempted it in part*, by calling two Parliaments consisting of members from England and Ireland, but bloody and barbarous as this paternal governor was, he was not able at that time, to manage this business to his satisfaction!

“ We find the legislative Union again agitated in the ‘ mild and merciful reign of Anne,’ in whose reign the union with Scotland took place.—*See Brewer’s Beatus*, 85 Inst. . . .

“ The same policy that carried the Scottish Union, against the feelings of the people of Scotland, dictated the Irish Union against the declared wish *of the Irish people*, as we shall see hereafter.

“ From the time of the Scottish Union to the year 1800, English writers were not wanted to shew the ‘ advantages’ to their country, that an Union with Ireland would produce. . . .

“ Postlethwayt, in his work entitled, *Britain’s Commercial Interests*, printed in Dublin in 1757, in the second volume, page 204, takes up nearly 100 pages to shew ‘ the advantages of a Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to England in a particular manner.’

After insinuating that Ireland too, would be benefited by the Union, he considered that in lieu of those advantages ‘ Ireland should give England at least *half a million annually!!!*’

“ ‘ Supposing ’—says he—‘ that Ireland by exerting her competition in trade against foreign rivals should thereby gain a *net million* per annum, would it not be well worth while *to give up to England* one-half of this annual gain, for the ‘ sake of the other which she cannot obtain without it? It certainly would.’

“ This no doubt is truly disinterested, and ‘ certainly’ if by

the *English Government* were not only allowed to enjoy all the natural and other advantages she *possessed* before the Union; but to increase her trade, so as to have an additional clear million per annum, few Irishmen, perhaps, would object to give her a fair remuneration, but certainly not *the germ of their independence, the right of self-legislation.*

“But if Mr. Postlethwayt could have anticipated, that by the Union *Ireland would lose some millions annually*, would he in the plenitude of his benevolence, propose that England should remunerate her accordingly? Or would he suggest the propriety of rescinding a measure, which by producing misery in Ireland, might one day bring destruction on England?

“‘By the Union’—says he—‘Ireland would soon be enabled to pay *a million a year* towards the taxes of Great Britain, *besides the full support of their own establishment.* And would not this in time of war, greatly contribute to raise the supplies within the year? And in time of peace, might not this, with an *addition of a million* more on the part of Gt. Britain, be appropriated as an *inviolable debt-paying fund for the redemption of every public incumbrance?* By the Union Ireland would be enabled *to assist England* with 12,000, if not 15,000 seamen in times of need, which would be a matter of no little importance.’—*p.* 203.—But let every thinking man mind what follows: ‘*As England does already possess no inconsiderable share of the lands of Ireland; so the Union would prove an effectual method to vest the rest in her; for as the riches of Ireland would chiefly return to England, she continuing the seat of Empire, the Irish landlords would be better than tenants to her, for allowing them the privilege of making the best of their estates.*’—*p.* 204.—There is love of Ireland for you!!! . . .

“Is it necessary to trace the character of the men, who from this time to the period of its completion, suggested, or planned or advocated the Union?

“PITT, who died in the midst of that debt and taxation which he entailed upon both England and Ireland—that mighty statesman of mighty mind and gigantic powers, who had just sufficient wisdom to *plunge a nation into misery* and not *common sense* to show how it could be rescued from ruin—he was the grand Machinist!

“CASTLEREAGH, the curse of his own country and the enemy

of every other, who, as if like another Judas, despairing of forgiveness for his multiplied transgressions, became his own executioner in the midst of his pride and power! ¹

“CLARE, the unfortunate Clare, who broke his heart for having bartered the independence of his country to please the deceitful statesmen of England.” ²

“Those were the leading agents who finally planned and carried the Union. The underlings deserve scarcely to be noticed. It may be right to mention, however, that towards the end of 1798, whilst rebellion raged, *Mr. Cooke*, an *Englishman*, then under-secretary of State, on a salary of £1414, proposed and discussed the Union in a pamphlet entitled, *Arguments for and against the Union*, which was replied to. . . . Shortly after this the question was introduced into the King’s Speech.

¹ Of whom Byron wrote :

“So Castlereagh has cut his throat !
The worst
Of this is—that his own was not the first !
So he has cut his throat at last !
He ! Who ?
The man who cut his country’s long ago.”

² Dr. Madden (the *United Irishmen*, etc., iii., p. 165) describes the remarkable demonstration made at the funeral of the rebel, Thomas Addis Emmet, during which all the municipal and United States offices were closed, and all the officials of the Corporation of the City of New York attended in a body with the Bar and U. S. legal officers, all the Medical Societies, the professors and students of the Medical Schools and of Columbia College together with a large portion of the male population of the city. Dr. Madden also incidentally refers in contrast to the funeral of “the most loyal of Irishmen”—Clare and Castlereagh: “When the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, the celebrated Lord Clare went to the other world, the 28th of January 1802 (within less than one year and a month of the achievement of the Union, of that measure to which all his efforts had been devoted for many years), no such honour was paid to his memory. We read, indeed, that on the day of his funeral seven hundred lawyers and legal functionaries and seventy lords and other notables of the country walked after his hearse to the graveyard of St. Peter’s Church; and in the presence of seven hundred lawyers and legal functionaries, we are informed, no sooner was the coffin of the late Lord High Chancellor deposited in the place prepared for it than the grave was desecrated and dead cats thrown on the coffin by the assembled populace. . . . When Lord Castlereagh paid the debt of nature in August 1822, the State, indeed, and its functionaries did honour to his memory. His remains were buried in Westminster Abbey. Great person-

" We now proceed to inquire what were the means adopted to insure its accomplishment and under what circumstances was it ushered into notice? . . .

" The following facts stand in black and indelible characters upon the pages of Irish and English history, in a manner too clear to be refuted.

" 1st. That every vile scheme a wicked policy could suggest, was adopted to strengthen the government or *Union party*, and to weaken or destroy the influence of those who were likely to oppose the measure. 'The Protestants were to be warmly patronized by Government, the Orangemen were to be duly encouraged and the Catholics were to be emancipated.'—*See Plowden's Ireland.*

" 2nd. That in 1789, fourteen new places, with increased salaries were granted to members of the Irish house of commons, as an inducement to 'vote for the crown and government of England.'—*Ibid.*

" 3rd. That during a few years previous to the final *settlement* of the question, thirty-two new peers were created, nearly every one of whom, voted for the Union.—*Barrington's Leg. Union.*

" 4th. That the more effectually to suppress the voice of the Irish people, which they knew was indignant even at the idea of the Union, in 1793, a bill was passed, prohibiting assemblies or meetings of the people, under *pretence* (which in this case meant purpose) of petitioning against grievances.—*See Convention Act.*

" 5th. That Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled by the English Government, because he acted too favorably towards the Irish people and was not disposed to do the *dirty work*!—*See Barlow's and Plowden's Ireland, and the Anthologia Hibernica.*

" 6th. That the Yeomanry, Militia and ancient Britains were raised to quell by the sword any opposition that might be given to government.—*Ibid.*

" 7th. That Lord Cornwallis, who had fought and failed against the liberties of America, was deputed (as Pitt's under agent) to visit such parts of Ireland, where he could more effectually jockey men into the surrender of their rights and offer them as a sacrifice at the shrine of England's monopoly.—*Ibid.*

ages walked after his coffin in procession, holding the pall; but the people shouted at the porch. A witness of that terrible manifestation of popular feeling, I can answer for it there was no expression of sorrow or respect in that shout."

“8th. That Rebellion, however created, *was allowed to continue when it might have been suppressed*, the more effectually to carry the intended measure.—*See Minutes of Secret Committee in 1798-9.*

“9th. That in 1800, thirty-five new writs were ordered for the re-election of members who had accepted places from England’s Ministers.—*See Ann. Reg., 1800.*

“10th. That Ireland was placed under martial law and that peaceable meetings to petition against the measure were dispersed by military force.—*See Lord (then Mr.) Grey’s speech against the Union.*

“11th. That fair and legitimate discussion on the Union was put down; that the people were over-awed by a military force; and that court-martials sat daily, consigning men to death or transportation; whilst the *Habeas Corpus* and all legal protection, (unless to the hirelings of the castle) were suspended.—*Ibid.*

“12th. That the simple and incredulous were actually branded as rebels or traitors to their King and country, if they did not sign petitions *for the Union.*—*See Plowden’s History.*

“13th. That immense sums were expended in all manner of bribes, as pensions, places, stations, elections, returning members rotten boroughs, or apostate counties, or to set aside men who were pledged against the measure.—*See Barrington’s Leg. Union, Plowden’s and Barlow’s Ireland.*

“On this subject the declaration of Castlereagh is sufficient. ‘Half a million was expended some time ago, to break an opposition. The same, or perhaps, a greater sum may be necessary now.’ The amount of the salaries given to those who held places during the King’s pleasure and whose votes mainly contributed to carry the Union, is set down at £66,877. In addition, there were twenty-six lawyers with places (as Mr. Barnes shows) there were 200 Boroughmongers, who got £1,500,000. *New Titles* in all 61 were given—to 4 Marquises, 6 Earls, 13 Viscounts, 3 Viscountesses, 23 Barons, and 12 Baronets.—*Ibid.*

“The following remarks on the vile corruption adopted to carry this measure are too much to the purpose to be omitted:

“ ‘The Union was accomplished’ (says Mr. O’Connell) ¹ ‘by

¹ *Letters*, p. 25.

the most open, base and profligate corruption that ever yet stained the annals of any country. It was reduced to a regular system. It was avowed in the house. It was acted on everywhere. The minister set about purchasing votes. He opened office with full hands. The peerage was part of his stock in trade, and he made some scores of peers in exchange for union votes. The episcopal bench was brought into market and ten or twelve bishopricks were trucked for Union votes. The bench of justice became a commodity, and one Chief Justice and eight *puisne* Judges and Barons ascended the bench,—as a result of votes for the Union. It would extend beyond ‘poor Robin Almanack’ to make out a list of the Generals and Admirals and Colonels and Navy Captains and other Naval and Military promotions, which rewarded personal or kindred votes for the Union.

“ ‘The revenue departments have long too been the notorious merchandise of corruption. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Board of Excise and Customs, either conjointly or separately, and the multifarious other fiscal offices, especially the legal offices, were crammed to suffocation, as the reward of Union votes.

“ ‘The price of a single vote was familiarly known. It was £8000 in money, or a civil or military appointment to the value of £2000 per annum. They were simpletons who only took one of the three. The dexterous always managed to get at least *two out of the three*; and it would not be difficult, perhaps, to mention the names of twelve, or even twenty members who contrived to obtain the entire three,—the £8000, the civil appointment and the military appointment.’ . . .

“ ‘The Union was preceded by one rebellion and succeeded by another, whilst Erin was mourning over her butchered sons and her fields were stained with the blood of her children. At a time when the scaffold superseded justice and the blood-stained hand of the assassin set honor and truth at defiance; when discord displaced union and the voice of dissension drowned the voice of dispassionate discussions; when terror on one hand and perfidy on the other, disturbed Ireland’s repose; when bribes replaced reason and corruption stifled argument—this was the time when an Union was proposed and carried! When the country was exhausted by civil wars and still more frightened by the perils it had seen, the Union was forced upon us! ’ ”

Mr. Battersby¹ heads a chapter "On what conditions was the Union introduced" and in it he states:

"Mr. Pitt declared that the conditions of the Union were:

"1st. That 'it would ensure a connection for the immediate interests of both countries, with many advantages to Ireland in *particular*.'

"2nd. That 'it would give Ireland the means of improving all her great natural resources and give her a full participation of all the blessings which England enjoys.'

"3rd. That 'it would diffuse a large proportion of wealth into Ireland and consequently increase her resources.'

"4th. That 'it would produce manifold advantages to the land-owners, merchants and every class of men in Ireland.'

"5th. That 'it would maintain order, encourage industry, diffuse throughout society an exertion of talents, *with which no country is more pregnant than Ireland*.'

"6th. That by it 'England would *sacrifice* £700,000 a year in favor of Ireland, guaranteed to her *irrevocably*.'

"7th. That in the commercial transactions between England and Ireland there would be an advantage of £3,000,000 annually to Ireland!!!—*Pitt's speech, Jan. 31, 1799; do. in 1800 on his propositions*.

"Lord Castlereagh, on delivering to the house of commons the Lord Lieutenant's message on the subject of an incorporating with Great Britain and Ireland, 5th of February, 1800, said:

"1st. That 'the Union was a *sacrifice of money* made by Great Britain to her own loss and to the advantage of Ireland.'

"2nd. That 'by it, Ireland would be taxed *considerably less than if she remained separate from England*.'

"3rd. That 'in respect to past expenses, *Ireland was to have no concern whatever with the debt of Great Britain*; but that henceforth the two countries were to *unite* as to future expenses on a strict measure of relative ability, which would be 7½ to 1.'

"4th. That 'it would give Ireland a community of prosperity in the territorial revenue of Great Britain, which would amount to £60,000 annually.'

"5th. That 'it was intended to make provisions for a certain

¹ P. 127.

sum out of the revenues of Ireland, to be appropriated to those laudable institutions (mercy on us!) such as the *Protestant Charter Schools, Dublin Society, etc.*'

"6th. That 'the amount of the Peace Establishment in Ireland would be increased from 12,000 troops to 20,000 troops, which, at the increased pay of the army, would raise the Peace Establishment to £1,500,000.'

"7th. That 'from the proofs he had offered, it would be seen that the proposed Union would give us in aid of our Peace Establishment £500,000 *annually.*'

"The noble lord then concluded by saying that 'those who had a stake in the country, would consider it seriously, whether *advantages like these should be rejected without discussion and decided by wild, senseless clamour.*'

"Lord Clare in his speech, Feb. 10, 1800, said:

"1st. That 'he felt most happy to commit Ireland to the sober discretion of the British Parliament, even though we had not a single representative in it.'

"2nd. That 'the people of Great Britain, if they once understood the solid interests of Ireland (he had no fear) would attend to them.'

"3rd. That 'the only security which can by possibility exist for the national concurrence of Ireland, is a permanent and commanding influence *of the English executive, or rather of the English cabinet in the councils of Ireland.*'

"4th. That 'by the Union, we were to be relieved from British and Irish *faction*, which is the true source of all our calamities!'

"5th. That by it 'we were to become *one people with England.*'

"6th. That 'the army of the empire would be employed where it was most wanted, without *any additional expense to either country.*'

"7th. That, 'by the Union, the resources of Ireland must necessarily increase and augment most rapidly.'

"8th. That 'Ireland would *participate* in British capital and British industry.'

"9th. That 'it would elevate her to her proper station in the rank of *civilized nations* and advance her from the degraded part of a mercenary province, to the proud station of an integral governing member of the greatest *empire* in the *world.*'

"10th. That 'it would withdraw the highest orders of Irishmen

from the narrow and corrupted *sphere of Irish politics* and direct their attention to objects of *national importance*, to teach them to improve their nation's energies and extend the resources of their country, to encourage manufacturing skill and ingenuity and open useful channels for commercial enterprize; and above all seriously to tame and civilize the lower orders of the people, to inculcate in them the habits of *religion* and *morality* and *industry* and due subordination, *to relieve their wants* and correct their excesses.'

"11th. That 'it would not drive (more than were then driven) of the nobility and gentry from Ireland, nor impoverish the metropolis nor render the evil of emigration greater than at this (his) day!!!'

"12th. That 'the Union would be a fair prospect of *peace* and *wealth* and *happiness* for *Ireland*.'

"The following are some of the leading promises made on the part of the Government by Mr. Under-Secretary Cooke, in his '*arguments for and against an Union*':

"1st. That '*the same laws would be enacted* for Ireland as for Middlesex or Yorkshire.'—p. 50. 2nd. That 'from the increased security and advantages Ireland would derive from the Union, absenteeism would be considerably lessened.' 3rd. That 'as Dublin would continue to be the chief seat of revenue, etc., it would not suffer.'—p. 43. 4th. That 'a great decrease of taxes and burdens would take place on account of the increased facility of governing Ireland.'—p. 44. 5th. That 'a great increase of trade and commerce would take place.'—*Ibid*. 6th. That 'the great exports of Irish *linens* would be secured and confirmed.'—p. 45. 7th. That 'Ireland would be raised to *full equality* with England.'

"Such were the conditions on which the Union was promised! Could anything be more *beautiful* in anticipation, or a more *blessed* state of things for Ireland, as far as *words* went? . . .

"But we will coolly inquire in the proper place, were all, nay was even one of these advantages, unless *supporting Charter Schools* and *proselytizing Bastiles*, secured to Ireland by the Union."

"*How was the Union carried?*" Under this head Mr. Battersby continues:

" Lord Grey, the present Premier (1833), then Mr. Grey, in his speech against the Union in the English Parliament, March, 1800, stated these facts, that could not be controverted:

" 1st. ' That two-thirds of the members for the countries, municipal cities, towns and open places, voted against the Union, whilst the majority in its favor were composed of members from rotten boroughs.'

" 2nd. ' That out of a house of 300 members, 282 voted! Of these 120 voted against the Union, although money to any extent, peerages, bishoprics for sons, brothers and nephews, the offices of judge, general, admiral, commissioner, etc., could easily have been gotten for a vote.'

" 3rd. ' That of the 162 who voted for the Union, no less than 116 were actual place-men, 9 or 10 were general officers, some of whom had not *a foot of land in Ireland*; and from 20 to 30 members were English and Scotchmen, put into parliament for the occasion; and that *there were not in fact above two or three honest votes for the Union.*'

" On these and other grounds even English lords protested against the measure, particularly Lord Grey and Lord Holland.—*See Parliamentary History, v. 34, p. 823.* . . .

" The British peers met on the 19th of March. . . . A conference was holden with the commons on the ensuing day, when it was proposed that it should be offered as the joint address of both houses.

" Public indignation against the measure ran now so high in Ireland, that it was deemed meet to postpone its consideration for another session. . . .

" Thus nearly every county in Ireland met and protested against the Union.¹ ' 707,000 of the Irish people (says Mr. O'Connell)² petitioned against the Union, whilst little more than 3,000 (with all the bribes and places and influence of government) could be got to sign for it.' "

Earl Grey, in his speech of April 21, 1800, stated:

" It was said in his Majesty's, and in the Irish Lord Lieutenant's speeches, that the consent of the people should be a preliminary

¹ Ensor's *Address to the People of Ireland*, 1814.

² *Letter to the People of England*, February, 1831.

ingredient in the measure, and in support of this we are told, there are a number of addresses in its favor; but *as not one of these addresses was ever laid before Parliament*, or the public, we know not by whom, or by how many or how few they are signed; not one of them, however, was from any public meeting regularly convened and were obtained by the force of 40,000 bayonets, martial law and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; whereas considering the present state of Ireland (convulsed after the insurrection) there are petitions truly miraculous at the other side, from 27 counties, and 18 cities, towns and corporations, regularly and publicly convened, signed by upwards of 113,000 persons (there being 2 petitions signed by 3000 persons for it); but adding those who signed subsequent petitions against it, the number was 707,000. . . .”

Mr. Battersby adds:

“ Is it necessary now to ask was the Union the deliberate act of two contracting nations? Did it receive the sanction of the Irish people? Must we not then add with *Mr. Under-Secretary Cooke*, the government advocate of the Union, ‘ that when one nation is *coerced* to unite with another, that such *Union* savors of subjection ’ ? ”

It is unnecessary to trace in greater detail the passage of the Union Bill through the Irish and English Parliaments, as the reader has already had a graphic description from the pen of Barrington of the scenes in the Irish House of Commons. Both bodies were obliged to delay action until the following session, when the Government, having perfected its plans, forced the measure to a vote and passage without the slightest regard for the wishes of a large majority of the Irish people.

The writer from whom we have freely quoted as an authority on this subject closes with an extract from Ensor’s work:

“ Scarcely had the law passed, satisfying that great mischief, the *Union*, when absenteeism, the predominant calamity of Ireland, was fearfully accelerated. The chief proprietors fled from the metropolis as from an invading army; and the country afford-

ing neither interest nor expectation, they expatriated themselves in shame, in disgust, in anguish, in despair. A category of evils beset the land. Those who had entertained fair hopes, soon found their prospects darkened and a long night closed the transient day. To infatuation succeeded self-torment. A chief judge died of a broken heart because he had participated in that signal treachery; another judge asked pardon of God and his country for sanctioning it with his vote; Pitt, the machinist, perished amidst the misfortunes of the empire; and Castlereagh, in his pride and power, became his own executioner. The noble delinquents and their race, perished together; twenty-four Irish peerages have become extinct since the Union in January, 1801, exclusive of peerages under a superior title, but continued in an inferior honor; and while I write another of the noble order, which stands between the prerogative and the people, as 'hounds between the huntsman and the hare,' is extinguished. Thus nature takes vengeance on the exalted traitors to their country. *The Union can not subsist*—sin and death have fixed their peremptory seal of doom upon it. . . . ”

Ensor wrote too soon after the forced union of Ireland with England to be able to judge the result with accuracy. He had as yet but certain indications on which to base his fears for the future of Ireland. This subject will be again treated of, while the reader in this connection will be interested in a brief summary by the late Mr. Michael Davitt, the latest authority on the condition of Ireland as it now exists, one hundred years after the Union. The condition he describes is not in accord with what we have just seen was promised by Pitt, the English minister. Davitt thus summarizes¹:

“What has been the general result to Ireland of the enforced partnership of 1801?—When the Act of Union was passed, Ireland had one-half the population of Great Britain, three and a quarter times of Scotland, ten times that of Wales, and five times that of London. To-day our population is about one-eighth of that of Great Britain, twenty thousand less than Scotland, and about two millions less than that of London. This, however, is only half the indictment of alien rule. As a direct result of this fatal

¹ *The Fall of Feudalism.*

weakening of Ireland's vital energies, both the birth-rate and marriage of the country are now near the lowest of any nation in Europe. There is likewise an alarming increase of insanity¹ among the diminished numbers, a fact also due to the emigration of the more virile of the people, leaving the physically impoverished behind to carry on the racial functions of human development. As a further comment upon all this decay and retrogression, a combined national and local taxation which amounted to a total of £2,000,000 a year under an Irish parliament, with a population equal to that of to-day, is now as a result of a hundred years of England's government over £12,000,000 [equal to \$60,000,000] annually—an increase of 600 per cent. On the top of all this there is the fact that we have far more pauperism in the country to-day than there was thirty years ago when Ireland had two million more of people. There is no hope for Ireland under such government any more than there is for a person into whose blood an insidious poison has been infused and who is denied the effective remedy which would counteract the deadly fluid. We must, therefore, demand the remedy that can alone save our country from national death. Nationhood, and that only, the full, free and unfettered right of our people to rule themselves in everything concerning the domestic laws, peace and welfare of Ireland, is what we must demand and work for if England's callous selfishness is not to be allowed to carry out and to complete the ruin it has already all but consummated."

¹ This subject is treated of at length elsewhere.

"We have somewhat else against you; for compacts broken and frauds displaced by frauds."

Aubrey De Vere

CHAPTER XV

LEGALITY OF THE UNION QUESTIONED—ENGLAND NEVER
COMPLIED STRICTLY WITH A SINGLE PROVISION OF
THE BILL—WHAT WAS PROMISED—TERMS OMITTED—
IRELAND TRICKED

THE legality of the Union between England and Ireland was questioned before the Act was passed and it has been frequently claimed since that the members of the Irish Parliament had received no legislative power to consider the subject. It was held that the power delegated to the members was a very limited one under any circumstances and that it was restricted to the passage of laws relating exclusively to the Irish people; consequently, the exercise of a legislative function was an *usurpation*.

While many represented rotten boroughs, the body as a whole was representative of the Protestant element, which formed about two out of ten of the population, while the Catholics were disfranchised and could exercise no political influence. All Protestants but those in the employment of the Government were opposed to the Union. The English Government directed at will the action of the puppets constituting the Irish Government but it was the unwritten law not to conflict with public opinion held by the majority of the Protestants. The passage of the Act of the Union is the only exception where Parliament ever acted contrary to this law.

In equity at least there is no doubt that, if it were ever a legal compact, England has nullified it by her own acts, in

that she has never strictly fulfilled a single provision of the bill.

Before the vote England pledged herself that under no circumstance should the proposed "Union" go into operation until the people had been consulted and had freely given their consent to the measure. Yet martial law was declared at a time when there was no disturbance in any portion of Ireland and every means was employed by the Government to prevent the people from meeting publicly to consider the matter.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, they were overcome; petitions were forwarded to Parliament from every part of the country in protest against the "Union" and signed by the great majority of the people. Those who favored the measure, it is well known, were as a rule office-holders and persons who had been bribed. The petitions signed by the majority were never laid before Parliament by the Government, while it was represented that the petitions received were all in favor of the "Union."

It must be borne in mind that Ireland was a kingdom distinct from England previous to the Union, as was shown by the title of George III. who was termed "King of Great Britain and *of the Kingdom of Ireland.*" Each country was supposed to have a separate government in all details. The English Government has frequently acknowledged the fact officially. Towards the close of the American Revolution, when Ireland had temporarily attained the management of her own affairs and prospered, the English Parliament declared that Ireland *was only bound by laws passed by the King, the Lords and Commons of Ireland.*

Battersby states¹:

"The people of Ireland in 1797, when they elected the commons, made choice of them to sit and vote in *the Irish House of Parliament and then and nowhere else to establish laws for the government of Ireland.* The members of the upper house, from

¹ P. 137.

1782, made a compact with the Irish people to maintain the independence of Ireland. Neither house then had the authority to vote away the Irish constitution. They might vacate their seats in subserviency to the English members; but they could not *vote away the Irish Parliament*. They could not, without daring unconstitutional robbery, deprive the people of the right of self-legislation.

"Will the most determined advocate of the Union say, that the Commons of England could vote the destruction of the English Parliament and transfer the legislative power permanently to Ireland without any reference to the English people? And if not, on what ground of *law*, or *right* or *justice* could the Parliament of Ireland do it?

"But let us first hear what the most learned civilians say upon this subject.

"Grotius says: 'If the supreme power shall really attempt to hand over the kingdom or put it into subjection to another, *I have no doubt*, that in this it may be *lawfully resisted*. For as I have said before, it is in that case another government, another holding of it; which change the people have a *right to oppose*.' —*Rights of War and Peace*, I., iv., 10.

"Locke, in chap. xix., sect. 217, of his treatise of *civil government*, says: 'The delivery also of the people into subjection of a foreign power, either by the *prince or by the legislature*, is a *dissolution of the government*. For the end why people entered into society being to be preserved one entire, free, independent society, to be governed by its own laws; this is last, whenever they are given up into the power of another.'

"It might almost be supposed he had the present case in contemplation when he wrote the following lines, so aptly do they apply. From this undisputable authority, it appears that the Act of Union not only is absolutely void, but the people are at liberty to choose a new legislature; for in the same chapter these remarkable words occur:

"'Whensoever, therefore, the legislative shall transgress this fundamental rule of society, and either by ambition, fear, folly or corruption, endeavor to grasp themselves, or *put into the hands of another*, an absolute power over the lives, liberties and estates of the people; by this breach of trust *they forfeit the power the*

people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves *to the people*, who have a right to resume their original liberty and by the establishment of a new legislature (such as they shall see fit) provide for their own safety and security; which is the end for which they are in society.'—*Edition 1694, p. 338.*

“ ‘When (says Puffendorff) one state is so united with another, that to one its form and seat of government remains, but that the citizens of the other leaving their own residence, *are transplanted into the seat of government* and placed under the hands of the other state, it is plain that the one is less, and that the supreme power should in the future be vested in the King and the lords, or be entirely dissolved, but that which remains does not cease to be the same, although by such an accession, she may have received a signal increase.’—*Laws of Nature and Nations, 8, 12, 6.*

“ ‘The whole comes to this, that the supreme power is in a vain pursuit of its endeavors, by its own authority alone, to transfer the government to other hands and that the subjects are not bound by such an act of their government but that such a thing requires not less the consent of the people than of the government; for as the government cannot be lawfully taken from the governors without their consent, so neither without the *consent of the people can another government be obtruded upon them.*’—*Ibid., 8, 5, 9.*

“ ‘*The legislative cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands; for, it being but a delegated power from the people, they who have it cannot pass it over to others. The people alone can appoint the form of the commonwealth, which is by constituting the legislative and appointing in whose hands that shall be; and when the people have said, we will submit and be governed by laws made by such men, and in such terms, nobody else can say other men shall make laws for them. The power of the legislative being derived from the people by a positive voluntary grant and institution, can be no other than what the positive grant conveyed; which being only to make laws and not to make legislators, the legislative can have no power to transfer their authority of making laws, and place it in any other hands.*’—*Locke on Government, 2, 11, 141.*

“ The present Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Lord Plunket, then

Mr. Plunket) told the advocates of the Union that they had not the power to destroy the people's constitution:

“ ‘ I, in the most express terms, deny ’ (said he) ‘ the competency of parliament to do this act! I warn you not to dare to lay your hands on the constitution. I tell you that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, *it will be a nullity*, and that *no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it*. I make this assertion *deliberately*. I repeat it, and call upon any man who hears me, to take down my words. You have not been elected for this purpose; you have been appointed to make laws, *not legislatures*. You are appointed to act under the Constitution, not to enter it. You are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators and not to transfer them; and if you do so, *your act is a dissolution of the government*; you dissolve society into its original elements, and *no man in the land is bound to obey you*,—you may extinguish yourselves, but parliament you cannot extinguish. It is enthroned in the hearts of the people; it is enthroned in the sanctuary of the constitution; it is immutable as the island it protects. As well might the frantic maniac hope that the act which destroys his miserable body, should extinguish his eternal soul. Again I, therefore, warn you, do not dare to lay your hands on the constitution; it is above your power!! ’—*Speech*, 1800.

“ Mr. Saurin to the same effect said: ‘ You may make the Union binding as a law; but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience. It will be obeyed as long as England is strong, but resistance to it will be in the abstract a duty; and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence.’—*Ibid*.

“ . . . But it may be said, that the Irish people did silently acquiesce to the Union. If they did, when every act of intimidation, of treachery and of suppressing *public meetings*, that the grossest despotism could suggest, was adopted; it would even *still prove nothing, as to their free and deliberate act*. But notwithstanding all the base and unconstitutional means to beat down the public mind, even to silent acquiescence, it is notorious, that the voice of the Irish people was emphatically declared against the Union.”

Previous to January 1, 1801, when the Union became established, as it is claimed, by law, Ireland had been governed by no fixed code of laws but by special legislation.

It was generally understood that after the "Union became established, the Irish people would form an inherent part" of the British Empire and would thereby be entitled to enjoy in common with the English people the same laws. This feature was generally the one advanced by those who advocated the Union as the chief advantage to be gained by Ireland. But from some oversight, by trick or design, it was found after the agreement had received the King's signature and had become a law that Ireland had received no benefit. The only provision for the Government of Ireland contained in the "Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland" was "Article VIII., that it be the eighth article of the Union, that *all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respected Kingdoms shall remain as now by law established, within the same, subject only to such alteration and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdoms to require.*"

Before the Union Ireland was, according to law, governed by the legislation of her own Parliament, which was composed only of members who conformed to the Established Church of England. After the Union—there being no specifications as agreed upon in the Act entitling her to enjoy the same laws in common with England—Ireland continued to be governed by special legislation of the British Parliament and the different "Coercion Acts" passed by that body almost every year since have constituted a considerable portion of that legislation.¹

¹ Over twenty-five years elapsed before the Catholic Emancipation, which was pledged to follow immediately after the Union. Parliament only acted then because the Government dared not delay longer. Previous to the passage of this Act, the Catholics could take no part in the Government of the United Kingdom and so many were the restrictions provided that a few years after, under the same pressure, some more concessions were reluctantly made. The Irish were not included in the Reform Act of 1868, which was passed only for the benefit of the people of Great Britain. It was not until the passage of the Third Reform Act of 1884 and 1885, when the Irish delegation in Parliament held the balance of power, that the two political parties of England were forced to agree that the Irish people should have the same rights of ballot as

Ireland was thus tricked again by England, as was foretold would be the case, and now after the Union has been one hundred years in operation she is beggared and England has derived all the advantage from the connection which she forced upon the Irish people.

Davis, whose views we have already quoted in relation to Ireland, was the chief law officer for the English Government in the early portion of the seventeenth century and he was uncompromising in his severity against the Irish people, as the prosecuting officer of the Crown; but he was a just man and moreover his legal training made him a close observer.

Plowden's criticism on Davis's observations is applicable and is as follows¹:

"The reflections of Sir John Davis upon the State of the Irish made about two" (three) "hundred years ago, may be thought by some to depict the fatal policy of the English Government towards Ireland with more faithful impartiality than a modern writer would receive credit for."

Davis stated²:

"This then I note as a great defect in the Civil Policy of this Kingdom, in that for the space of three hundred and fifty years at least after the Conquest first attempted, the English Lawes were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and Protection thereof allow'd unto them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same. For, as long as they were out of the protection of the Lawe; so as every Englishman might oppress, spoyle, and kill them without Controulment, howe was it possible they should be other than Outlawes and Enemies to the Crowne of England? If the King would not admit them to the condition of Subjects, the people of England. By this Act and through the operation of the Local Government Bill, the people of Ireland at the end of one hundred years are now beginning to exercise rights and privileges which she should have possessed immediately after the Union had the English Government acted in good faith.

¹ Vol. i., p. 31.

² *Historical Relations*, etc., by Sir John Davis, p. 52.

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how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their Sovereigne? When they might not converse or commerce with any civill Men, nor enter into anie Towne or Citty without perill of their lives; whither should they flie but unto the Woods and Mountains, and there live in a wilde and barbarous manner? . . . If the *English* Magistrate would not rule them by law, which doth punish Treason and Murder and Theft by Death; but leave them to be ruled by their own Lords and Lawes, why should they not embrace their own *Brehon Law*, which punisheth no Offence, but with Fine or Erick? . . . In a word, if the Englishe woulde neither in Peace govern them by Lawes, nor could in warre roote them out by the sword; must they not needs bee Prickes in their Eyes and thornes in their side till the worlde's end?"

It is at present as hopeless an expectation as it was three hundred years ago that England will make any voluntary and unselfish change for Ireland's benefit, while the same indifference as to the condition of the people is likely to continue "till the worlde's end," unless she be forced to act under stress. How the incentive is to come, the future can alone show. Possibly the "Local Government Bill," recently introduced into Parliament as a step in the right direction, may prove the entering wedge for Home Rule.

The legitimate channel through which Ireland must seek redress under the present status should be by means of her representatives in the Imperial Parliament. But unfortunately, as with every provision in the Act for establishing the Union, all of which emanated from the stronger Power, Ireland was tricked by England also in regard to the small number of members allotted her. These, representing a majority of the Irish people, have always been in the minority and too small in number in the British Parliament to command attention from those who are only interested in the advancement of English interests alone. On the part of the Irish members no other course remains to advance their special interests but by a policy of obstructing all legislation, by resorting to every legitimate means until they are suc-

cessful in their purpose. To remove the possibility of an attempt being made by the Irish members to pass some measure, when holding the balance of power between the two great political parties of England, the proposition has already been agitated to reduce Ireland's representation in Parliament. If England is to gain anything by the change, the violation on her part of the only other article which has not been broken in the so-called treaty between the two countries at the time of the Union would of course bear no weight with the national conscience. Nor would she consider seriously the great injustice of basing Ireland's future representation in Parliament on the present reduced population which is the direct result of England's misgovernment.

Fortunately, so long as Ireland is united and is allowed *any* representation resolute men can equally obstruct or suspend business in Parliament, until eventually their demands must receive consideration.

A summary by Newenham¹ of the injustice done Ireland in relation to her representation in Parliament will prove of interest to the reader as the clearest statement from a contemporary observer which has come under the observation of the writer; but in consequence of its length it will be placed for reference in the Appendix.²

¹ Pp. 280-286.

² See Appendix, note 18, in the First Edition.

"If Irishmen are ever to enjoy the rights of human beings, the British Empire must first perish."—[Unless Home Rule be gained.]

John Mitchel

CHAPTER XVI

HISTORY OF SOME STATE PAPERS CONNECTED WITH BRITISH RULE IN IRELAND AND SOME ALLEGED FACTS IN RELATION TO THE UPRISING IN 1803—TREATMENT OF IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

THE following chapter is taken from a work by the writer¹ and while it does not strictly preserve the narrative in this connection it is a record of part of the obscure history of the period, which will need investigation by the future historian. If the papers which are supposed to exist among the secret records of the British Government can ever be fully examined, it will be shown who were in the employ of the Government as spies; but until this can be done the patriotism of a number must remain in doubt. It will never be known what portion of the archives have been lost or destroyed. But no doubt can rest on the memory of those who offered up their lives, those who suffered grievously as victims of torture and who made every sacrifice with no possibility of personal gain. Among the latter were chiefly those of more humble origin, like Robert Emmet's old friend, honest James Hope, the heroic Michael Dwyer, the faithful Anne Devlin and a few others, who yielded neither to torture nor English gold. Until the epitaph of Robert Emmet can be truthfully written and an authentic history of Ireland can be compiled, the material necessary for the guidance of the historian must be carefully preserved by those who desire the consummation of both purposes. Hence this chapter will not be entirely out of place.

¹ *The Emmet Family*, etc., p. 141.

Some years since the writer obtained permission to inspect a portion of the Irish State Papers from 1798 to 1804, which were then supposed to be deposited in the State Department, London. But after a search it was found that this section of the papers had been sent some years previous to Dublin Castle for classification before being placed on deposit for public inspection.

After the arrest of Thos. Addis Emmet his father's house and his own were searched and every particle of manuscript found was seized and carried off by the Government officials. This loss of family papers caused great difficulty and inconvenience afterwards and the writer's object in examining these records was to obtain copies of any letters or documents that could be found of national interest or bearing upon the family history.

On visiting Dublin Castle it was ascertained that these papers were in the custody of Sir Bernard Burke.¹ On presenting the permit the writer was informed that under no circumstances could these papers be opened for public inspection. With this introduction, and being disappointed in the main object of his search, it naturally followed that the writer employed Burke to institute a systematic search of the English and Irish public records, which was carried on for years under his direction.

The history of the Emmet family was a subject of frequent conversation, and on one occasion Sir Bernard admitted that he had made a partial inspection, several years before, of the papers from 1798 to 1804. In explanation of the bar put upon these papers, he furthermore stated that he had satisfied himself that the public interest would not be served at that time by any one having a knowledge of their contents and consequently he had called the attention of the Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Marlborough) to them, with the request that they be sealed up. He then conducted the writer to one of the upper stories of John's Tower, Dublin Castle, where the State records were kept,

¹ The Ulster King-at-Arms.

and in an out-of-the-way corner pointed out a wooden box corded up and sealed. Across one of the cords was pasted an official sheet of paper, on which was written a recommendation, signed by the Duke of Marlborough himself, that, for the public good, these papers should not be inspected for a term of years, the exact time named being now forgotten. On being further pressed for additional information, Sir Bernard admitted that he could give no accurate information about the mass of papers, which did not at that time interest him, as he had limited his attention almost entirely to an inspection of those connected with the bringing about of the "Union" and those bearing upon the uprising under Robert Emmet. His object in having them sealed up and forgotten was to insure, if possible, their preservation for historical purposes hereafter.

As the writer was not a subject of Great Britain, Burke doubtless thought that he could be more confidential and his communication was accepted at the time in confidence; but circumstances have since removed the obligation of silence. To all appearances Burke was one of the "Castle people" and as a retainer of the Tory Government he was obliged to be subservient, in order to insure his position and the support of himself and family. For all that, it is believed that at heart he was a true Irishman. After the writer had become well acquainted with him he was fully impressed that Burke felt a deep sympathy for Robert Emmet and for everything pertaining to his memory. Under the circumstances, therefore, he would naturally be more communicative with official information to a member of the family than to one without such natural interest in the subject. His statement was to the effect that the methods employed by the British Government to bring about the "Union" were almost beyond human conception and constituted a most damnable record of crime, corruption and bribery. But his statement in reference to Robert Emmet was naturally of the greatest interest to the writer. These papers showed that when Napoleon had nearly closed the

English ports with his fleets and for a time had nearly destroyed the British commerce the English people became so restless and the Tory Government so unpopular that it was thought necessary to devise some means of diverting the public attention. Sir Bernard Burke also made the following positive statement, that he had read among these State Papers a letter from the English Minister, then at the head of the British Government, addressed to Secretary Marsden, directing that another outbreak should be gotten up in Ireland "at all hazard" and suggesting that Robert Emmet, who was in Paris,¹ "*should be approached for the purpose.*" Burke also found an unbroken chain of evidence to show that in consequence of this mandate from the Government an agent, carefully instructed for the purpose, went to Paris, approached and misled Robert Emmet, inducing him by misrepresentation to return to Ireland. He, moreover, said these papers clearly showed that from the time of Emmet's landing until the outbreak in Dublin took place the latter was aided in every way by the police to perfect the movement. In fact, it was made most evident that the Government agents in Dublin were informed of every move and were as thoroughly conversant with the whole affair as if it were directed by the "Castle." Madden, in his study of these times, without being able to gain any accurate information as to the origin or purpose of the move, obtained the clearest evidence that Mr. Emmet was misled and betrayed from the beginning of his course. All Dr. Madden's investigations on this point, though conducted independently of Burke and by access to different material, go to confirm the latter's testimony—*i. e.*, that the movement did not begin with Robert Emmet.

Henry Grattan, in a letter to Fox, dated December 12, 1803, refers to Lord Hardwicke's administration and his

¹ Robert Emmet had been living abroad practically ever since a few months after his resignation from Trinity College, in April, 1798. At this time, when he was deceived and induced to return to Ireland, he had already made all his arrangements to accompany his brother to America.

methods of suppressing the insurrection as follows: "*Mr. Pitt had never been able to raise a rebellion by his measures if he had not been assisted by the gross manners of his partizans.*"

Madden, in his *Life of Robert Emmet*, states:

"There is no doubt that the conspiracy of 1803 originated not with Robert Emmet, but with parties in Ireland *who contrived to keep their real objects undiscovered and their names, too, unrevealed*,—who managed to have projects of renewed rebellion taken up by leaders of 1798 who escaped expatriation,—men not of the highest order, intellectually or morally—who having remained in Ireland, found means to enter into communication with some of the principal leaders then in France, and through them with the First Consul and his Ministers."

The men "who had escaped expatriation" held an immunity, as we must now believe, being in the employ and pay of the British Government and consequently were able to gain and hold the full confidence of the Irish leaders by their apparently consistent patriotism.

It would seem as if Robert Emmet himself felt it advisable at that time to withhold certain portions of the history of the movement. It may have been that he desired to shield certain individuals he believed to be patriots and whose connection with the movement he thought was unknown to the Government. But, with the knowledge we possess to-day, the probabilities are great indeed that these very individuals whom he fully trusted were at that time spies and informers in the pay of the British Government. In the speech delivered at his trial Robert Emmet said:

"I have been so charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as it has been expressed, 'the life and blood of the conspiracy.' You do me honour over much; you have given to the subaltern all the credit of the superior. There are men concerned in this conspiracy, who are not only

superior to me, but even to your own conception of yourself, my lord—men before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I would bow with respectful deference. . . . ”

As there exists no higher authority than Dr. Madden on this subject, we must again quote his views as expressed in his *Life of Emmet*:

“ Nothing can be more clear, from the official documents and parliamentary papers I have placed before my readers, than that Lord Hardwicke was kept in total ignorance of the preparation for Robert Emmet’s conspiracy ’till the very evening of the outbreak on the 23d of July, and *that Mr. Marsden was in possession of all the secret knowledge that was necessary to have enabled the Government to have seized on Emmet and his associates four months before that outbreak, and to have prevented the insurrection from ever having been attempted at all.* But that result would not have suited the views of Lord Castlereagh. There was a new French invasion apprehended. It was to be anticipated by another prematurely exploded rebellion. Castlereagh’s hand was assuredly in the direction given to the Irish Government by Mr. Marsden, without the knowledge of the Lord Lieutenant, who was a straightforward, good man, incapable of any act of state villainy such as Castlereagh delighted in secretly performing. The Orangemen, be it remembered, at that period were indignant with Lord Hardwicke for setting his face against the old Camden policy of allying the Government with Orangeism, or rather dividing the power of the state with that faction. The Irish Government was to be made to feel that Orangemen could not be done without. *The old traitors in the camp of the United Irishmen, who had not then been discovered, were brought into communication with those members of the faction, to whom the mysteries of the haute politique of its Machiavellian régime were confined, and the result was the concoction of a mass of lying reports, transmitted to the United Irish leaders in France in 1802, purporting to give an exact account of the real state of things in Ireland, and showing it to be most favourable for a renewed attempt on the part of the United Irishmen.*”¹

¹ This statement of Dr. Madden is a remarkable confirmation of the one made by Sir Bernard Burke and his conclusions were most sagacious, since he could not have had access to the papers seen by Burke.

That the Earl of Hardwicke was kept in total ignorance of the preparation being made for Robert Emmet's outbreak, and that Marsden was in possession of all necessary knowledge weeks before the 23d of July, as Dr. Madden has stated, is now fully proved by the recent publication of the Hardwicke papers by MacDonough, and from his work the following extracts are taken ¹:

“In January, 1804, the Lord Lieutenant was startled to learn from the Hon. George Knox, M.P. for Dublin University, that in June, 1803, he had been the means through which information of the existence of the Emmet conspiracy had been communicated to William Wickham, the Chief Secretary, and that Wickham, probably believing it to be unfounded, took no action. The information came from Peter Burrowes, a lawyer, etc. . . . In confirmation of his story Knox sent to Hardwicke the following most interesting extract from his private diary: ‘June 1st, 1803. London. Received the following letter from P. Burrowes:

“ ‘ May 28th.

“ ‘ MY DEAR KNOX:

“ ‘ Since I sealed my letter I have had a communication by mere accident which inclines me to think I misinformed you on the chief point of my letter. I am sorry to say that I think there is an invisible revolutionary government in great forwardness and activity, and that they have numerous partisans in the city of Dublin, and all through Leinster, in the city of Limerick, and other parts, etc.’

“After the conclusion of Mr. Burrowes's letter several extracts are given from Mr. Knox's diary, between June 3d and June 13, 1805. Among these:

“ ‘ Friday, June 3d. Saw Wickham. We settled that Burrowes should write Marsden under the signature of “Junius.” . . . Monday, June 13th . . . sent Burrowes's letter to Wickham.’ . . . The paper containing these extracts from the diary of George Knox has the following in the handwriting of the Lord Lieutenant: ‘N.B.—Not one word of this letter of the 10th of June was communicated to Dublin until after the 23d of July.’

¹ *The Viceroy's Post-bag*, etc., by Michael MacDonough, London, 1904.

[Not to his knowledge was probable.] ‘*Nor did I ever hear of these letters till some time after Mr. Wickham’s arrival in August. I never saw these copies till February, 1804 . . . and when I procured from Mr. G. Knox what I could not obtain from Mr. Wickham’s papers.—H.’*”

Dr. Madden, after exposing the part played by the Orangemen in exciting disturbance among the Irish people, goes on to picture the misery that had fallen upon Dr. Emmet and his wife. He then continues:

“Orangemen of Ireland, who secretly fomented seditious designs of disaffected men in 1802, who connived at their machinations and *allowed conspiracy to go unchecked, ’till young Emmet was sufficiently deceived to be easily destroyed*—these are your triumphs; the desolation of the home of an aged, virtuous couple, the ruin in which all belonged to them were involved, the ignominious death of their youngest, gifted child. These are your achievements! Of what avail are they now to your discredited Frankenstein-lived institution? And what advantages to England’s imperial interest have accrued from them?”

Robert Emmet must have obtained some intimation, between the time of the outbreak and his arrest, of the infamous trickery employed by the Government against him. He certainly realized and expressed the belief that he was condemned to death before his trial commenced. To-day we may add to this charge that he was condemned to death before he had ever committed an overt act and that the English Tory Government, through its Minister, conceived, bore and gave birth to this plot for his judicial murder. Such a charge would seem scarcely worthy of belief were it not evident to every student of Irish history that England, with her unscrupulous methods of statecraft, has never hesitated in resorting to *any procedure*, in Ireland at least, to carry out her purpose. It is not necessary to do more than investigate her methods to bring about the “Union”; which are so clearly proved that, in comparison with them, the sacri-

vice of the life of a single individual to accomplish her object, as in the death of Robert Emmet, was but a trivial incident.

Sir Bernard Burke was an invalid for some time before his death and must have been in ignorance of what was done in his office. But, at some time during the Tory administration previous to the last Liberal one, the papers which have been so much referred to must have been discovered by some official of the Government and from prudential motives many were destroyed.

Soon after the Liberal party came into power search was made, by permission of the authorities, for this box of papers but not a trace of its contents could be found. In fact, nothing remains to-day but the corroboration given by Dr. Madden to prove the truth of Sir Bernard Burke's statement.

While the circumstantial evidence is all in favor of the truth of his statement, it will now, unfortunately, in some respects have to stand unproved, since those who are cognizant of the facts are never likely to divulge their secret.

Yet no reasonable doubt can exist as to the action of the English Government in forcing the outbreak of 1798 for political purposes. The people of Ireland in 1803 were no less discontented with their condition, after the fraudulent "Union" had been brought about by the same influence. The charge may therefore be readily accepted as true—that the English authorities were responsible for the death of Robert Emmet, as a premeditated act, and they were equally responsible, directly, for all the horrors and bloodshed which attended the outbreak its agent had been commanded to instigate and to direct, to the end of misleading their own people and of furnishing pretext for punishing the Irish who the Government could neither conquer nor exterminate.

Certainly some one, during this period of Tory rule, had free access to these papers, with no desire for their preservation. A short time before Mr. Gladstone's last administration began the writer purchased in Dublin several papers connected with Robert Emmet's arrest and

trial. These documents¹ were beyond question at some time part of these State Papers and could only have been taken out in Sir Bernard Burke's absence, after the writer had seen in 1880 the corded and sealed box containing them. Any one familiar with the methods of a Government office, and especially with one in Ireland, would feel fully satisfied that no official would dare to take the responsibility of breaking the seal which protected these papers, unless ordered to do so by some one with the weight of the British Government behind him.

In April, 1798, Robert Emmet resigned from Trinity College and shortly afterwards, on his way to the Continent, visited his brother Thomas, imprisoned in Fort George. After spending the summer chiefly in Switzerland, he finally settled down in Paris to await his brother's expected release, intending to accompany him and his family to the United States. Beyond these facts absolutely nothing is known of his life there for some two years. We are even deprived of his correspondence, for very few of his letters are known to exist. He doubtless wrote to his family while abroad but his letters were either not preserved or they passed into the possession of the English Government when the family papers were seized.

In October, 1802, Robert Emmet returned to Ireland from Paris. We have seen from his mother's last letter² to her son Thomas that Robert remained for a short time at Casino and was there in December, at the time of his father's death. Shortly after this event Mrs. Emmet closed Casino and changed her residence to Bloomfield, where she died a few months later. After Mrs. Emmet's change of residence to Bloomfield, another suburb of Dublin, Casino seemed deserted. At this time it is likely that Robert Emmet began his operations in town and he often used this place as a refuge after a price was put upon his head.

On the 18th of July, 1803, there was an explosion in a

¹ They were all reproduced in facsimile in *The Emmet Family*, etc.

² *The Emmet Family*, etc., p. 100.

depot in Patrick Street, Dublin. This was supposed at the time to have been due to an accident but the probabilities are that it was done by some traitor, in obedience to orders from the Castle to precipitate the movement. This is not improbable, as the Government apparently took no notice of the matter although the roof of the house had been completely blown off with a loud concussion. Under ordinary circumstances such an occurrence would instantly have attracted the attention of the police and the matter would have been investigated at once.

Robert Emmet's plans were to wait for the expected invasion of England by the French. But after the explosion he was forced, as doubtless it was intended he should be, to act quickly and before he was fully prepared, for fear of discovery of the movement by the police.

Therefore an attempt was made on July 23d to take the Castle of Dublin by surprise, with every prospect of success, as it was known that the gateway was left open and unguarded as if the authorities were in profound ignorance of the danger. Now we know that this was done for the purpose of creating this impression. But the movement was a failure from the beginning, owing to the desertion of those who were in the employ of the Government and the lack of discipline and precision of those of Emmet's followers who remained.

Mr. Emmet, realizing that he had been betrayed, refused to give the signals which would bring the country people in force into Dublin, for he stated: "I would have given it the respectability of insurrection, but I did not wish uselessly to shed blood; I gave no signal for the rest, and they all escaped."

Some years ago the Author obtained, as has been stated, several papers which must have been at some time in the Irish Government archives; and they were doubtless a portion of those which Burke had sealed up. These documents proved of the greatest historical value in relation to the arrest and trial of Robert Emmet.

One of those he obtained is the original warrant for the reward due the betrayer of Mr. Emmet's place of concealment. This was reproduced.¹ Another of these papers is of more importance, as it is believed to be what was then termed in Ireland the "Devil's Brief,"² an instrument of injustice long in vogue in that unhappy country and one by which many an innocent man suffered. Up to within a recent period it was not an uncommon thing in Ireland to use this form of procedure for the conviction of any person whom the authorities felt disposed to get rid of. Unfortunately there has been no time in Ireland, for some hundreds of years past, that the British Government could not prove anything desired, against any one, by a set of hirelings of alien descent who, though perhaps born in Ireland, never possessed anything else in common with their place of birth.

Robert Emmet was tried for high treason on September 19, 1803, in the old Green Street Court House, where for many generations past all "political offenders" tried in Dublin have had in the same room their quota of injustice meted out to them.

It is a well-known fact that Robert Emmet made no defence by examination of witnesses, and this, it was thought, was in accordance with the advice of his supposed friend and counsel, the "Judas" McNally, who was even at that time in the pay of the British Government.³

In the report of Robert Emmet's trial we find McNally said: "As Mr. Emmet did not intend to call any witnesses, or take up the time of the Court by his counsel stating any case or making any observation on the evidence, he presumed the trial was now closed on both sides." And Robert Emmet is reported as saying in his speech:

"Why then insult me, or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me, why sentence of death should not be pronounced against me? I know, my lords, that the form prescribes that you shall put the question; the form also confers a right of answer-

¹ *The Emmet Family*, etc., p. 173.

² P. 156.

³ This subject has been considered in a previous chapter.

ing. This, no doubt, may be dispensed, and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, *since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before your jury were impanelled.*"

Therefore, as Mr. Emmet made no defence and examined no witnesses, it became necessary for the Government officials suddenly to change their plans and to pursue a course which does not correspond closely with the brief. It is not improbable that Robert Emmet himself determined on following this course and when he so decided, McNally, to maintain his influence, was obliged not only to acquiesce but even to advocate it. By some fortunate circumstance this brief prepared for his trial was not destroyed but was filed away with the other papers connected with the prosecution. It was prepared, beyond question, before the trial, a procedure which was not unusual and has always been considered a legitimate one when the evidence could be gotten together. But with a knowledge of the peculiar circumstances in this case the suspicion becomes a conviction that this document is a "Devil's Brief" and the inference is not an unreasonable one that the "arrangement of evidence for Emmet's trial" was gotten up even before his arrest. This is based on the belief that by the order of the English Minister the police were the chief directors in the "Emmet insurrection." The needed testimony, therefore, was not difficult to obtain, under the circumstances, at any time by drilling before the "trial" a sufficient number from the "Battalion of Testimony"¹ and it was not difficult, as shown from an endorsement on the document, to determine beforehand that "Wilson will prove it."

The document has been given in facsimile,² on account of its great historical interest in connection with the trial of

¹ The names of all those who bore false witness at the bidding of the representatives of the English Government in Ireland have never been published but at least four of those who testified on Robert Emmet's trial against the prisoner were on Major Sirr's staff. Beyond question McNally, his counsel, was also in the pay of the British Government.

² *The Emmet Family*, etc., p. 156.

Robert Emmet, and the reader can compare the evidence given in the brief with the official account of the trial published by the Government in the newspapers, one of which has been reproduced.

Immediately after the termination of the trial, there was issued by the Government for the public Press an official version of what it wished the people to believe Robert Emmet had uttered in his speech before sentence was passed upon him. A broadside also, giving an account of the execution and of the advice alleged to have been given by him to the Irish people, was distributed through the streets of Dublin so soon after the execution that, in a period lacking the enterprise of the present day, no other inference can be drawn but that it was printed before the event took place. If this be true it was done by the British Government for the special purpose of misleading the French and causing the Irish people to believe that Robert Emmet, at the last moment regretting his course, had urged all true Irishmen forcibly to resist any interference on the part of France.¹

¹A copy of this broadside has recently been obtained by the writer after years of search. It has at the head an elaborate copper etching nearly twelve by seven inches in size, showing the interior of the Green Street courtroom, the judges on the bench, the jury in their box, the lawyers seated at a large round table and Robert Emmet in the act of speaking. So carefully were these figures drawn that evidently they were in many instances intended for likenesses. But a significant feature is that a magnifying glass shows that the profile of Robert Emmet, which is perfect, was drawn in after the remaining portion of the head had been finished. Against the wall, as if in a scroll, Mr. Emmet is represented as saying: "If the French land in Ireland, O my countrymen! meet them on the shore with a torch in one hand, a sword in the other,—receive them with all the destruction of war. Immolate them in their boats before our native soil should be polluted by a foreign foe." Below the print is the following heading: "Memoirs of Mr. Emmet, executed in Thomas-Street, City of Dublin, on Tuesday, the 20th September, 1803, after an impartial trial which lasted thirteen hours, before a most respectable jury."

In the speech he is represented to have uttered the following in connection with the above: "If they succeed in landing, fight them on the strand, burn every blade of grass before them, as they advance; raze every house; and if you are driven to the centre of your country, collect your provisions, your

If a broadside as described was issued just after the trial, another in the possession of the writer, which is reproduced,¹ must have emanated from the same source on the following day; and while a somewhat truthful relation of the execution is given the same object for its publication in regard to France is most evident.

We have seen in the diary kept by Thomas A. Emmet while in Paris² that the French were very indignant on reading the Government version of Emmet's speech. This publication, as intended, was doubtless in part responsible for the loss of interest on the part of the French Government and in so much deprived Ireland of her long-promised help.

The news of Robert's arrest and that of other members of the family was brought over in an open boat to Mr. Emmet in property, your wives and your daughters, form a circle around them—fight while two men are left, and when but one remains, let that man set fire to the pile, and release himself and the families of his fallen countrymen from the tyranny of France." This enthusiastic version of Robert Emmet's speech from an English standpoint was ostensibly "Printed and Published by J. Shea, No. 42 College-Green, Dublin—Price 1s. 1d. Coloured—Plain, 6½d."

From *The Emmet Family*, etc., p. 164, the following is taken: "It was doubtless part of the plot, arranged before the trial, that Lord Norbury should frequently interrupt Robert Emmet by uncalled-for charges in reference to the French and by annoying remarks, probably hoping to irritate him and make him lose the thread of his argument and if possible to prevent him from publicly exposing, as Emmet wished to do, the true condition of the country and the reason for the uprising of the people."

In no instance did Robert Emmet refer to the French but in response and as if it was decided upon beforehand that he should not be allowed to speak upon any other subject, it would not therefore have been difficult to print beforehand the version which was given to the people and which he never uttered.

In comparison with broadsides usually issued under such circumstances, this one is too elaborate and costly for the price and as a business venture. In addition to misleading the people as to Mr. Emmet's advice to his countrymen, it may have been considered of equal importance to impress the people by the likenesses of certain prominent persons who were not loyal but who would be thus shown as if in sympathy with the Government by their presence, so that its genuine character should not be denied nor questioned. It is therefore not improbable that Shea was commissioned by the Government and his proximity to Trinity College adds to this belief.

¹ *The Emmet Family*, etc., p. 158.

² See Appendix for reprint.

France. Shortly after he also received in the same way as full a copy of the official version of his brother's trial and execution as was permitted to be published in the newspapers of Dublin. It is believed that the news of Robert Emmet's arrest was the first intimation Mr. Emmet had of his brother's actual connection with the movement.

The probabilities are that when Robert Emmet was persuaded to return to Ireland by the agent of the British Government he felt pledged to keep his own counsel. There exists no evidence that Robert Emmet had belonged to the organization of the United Irishmen previous to his return, as he had been out of Ireland since he resigned from college. Thomas Addis Emmet shows by his diary that he was the secret agent in Paris of the United Irishmen but, not expecting an actual outbreak until he could obtain a pledge of aid from France, he apparently said nothing to his brother about his mission or about the United Irishmen, thus showing, in all likelihood, that Robert was not a member of that organization.

Robert Emmet on the other hand, being ignorant until his return to Ireland of his brother's special connection with the United Irishmen, naturally did not disclose the plot confided to him in confidence by the British agent. Therefore a visit to his parents, before going to America with his brother and relatives, was no doubt made to appear as the ostensible reason for his visit to Ireland. When Robert Emmet reached Dublin he found, as he stated, a movement already organized and "the business ripe for execution." How much of this was prepared for his benefit by the agents of the Government has yet to be discovered; but it is likely that the organization formed by the United Irishmen was a different movement and of its existence at that time the English Government probably had but little knowledge. But the fact was doubtless known to the Government, as it was an open secret in Paris, that the French were preparing and were anxious to aid the Irish in gaining their absolute independence. To counteract this friendly

feeling the British Government seized the opportunity of misrepresenting Robert Emmet's speech, to destroy, if possible, all this interest on the part of the French Government.

Mr. Emmet's "trial" was terminated by the death sentence at half-past ten o'clock at night, the prisoner having been kept fasting and standing in the dock all day. It will be seen, however, by the charge made against the Government for maintaining prisoners in Newgate that three shillings and sixpence was the cost of Robert Emmet's support on the day of his trial.¹

¹ This document, which has been reproduced,² was doubtless another of the State Papers which disappeared with the chest which had been put aside in Dublin Castle. It is signed by Trevor, the Superintendent or Head Gaoler of Newgate and Kilmainham prisons, a man whose genius for devising different methods of torture, to increase the misery and suffering of the unfortunate prisoners entrusted to his care, has been equalled by one individual only within the knowledge of the writer. This distinction may rest with Major Cunningham, who was the presiding genius in charge of the New York Provost Jail and Sugar House prisons during the time the British troops held the city of New York in the Revolution. So long as a page of American history is preserved Cunningham will be remembered, for the same reason the name of Trevor will not be forgotten in Ireland. This man would torture, scourge and half hang his prisoners apparently for his own amusement and often without provocation. It has been affirmed that he stated his object was simply "to create a healthy dread" on the part of the prisoners "for their master."

There exists no known cause for secrecy, and as the publication of what is known of the history of these State Papers may lead to the recovery of some other portion, I will state that my purchase was made from the late Dr. Frazer, then residing in Harcourt Street, Dublin, who was a collector of many objects of curiosity. But I was told by him that the papers shown to me were the property of some other member of his family. Among these were over fifty letters,³ written apparently to the Irish Secretary by some one in the confidence of the Irish leaders of 1798, who was evidently a fellow-member of the Directory and who was regularly present at their meetings just previous to the uprising. I was not allowed to see who signed these letters previous to purchase, but as an inducement I had pointed out to me the report of the views expressed by my grandfather, T. A. Emmet, at the different meetings, which were detailed

² *The Emmet Family*, etc., p. 165.

³ After reading *Secret Service under Pitt*, by W. F. Fitzpatrick, F.S.A., I am impressed with the conviction that these letters were written by Samuel Turner, supposed to have been one of the leaders of the United Irishmen, but now known, as already stated, to have been a spy in the employ of Pitt.

Robert Emmet was hung at an early hour on the following day, September 20, 1803, in Thomas Street, Dublin, nearly opposite St. Catherine's Church, and after the execution his head was severed from the body and by the hand of the executioner was presented to the surrounding rabble of English sympathizers as the head of a traitor.¹

with more accuracy than a secretary would attempt to do for the minutes of an ordinary meeting. Nearly every letter covered the four pages of a large quarto sheet and was written in an unusually legible hand. By this correspondence of some traitor the Government must have obtained a more accurate knowledge than any member could have retained unless he took notes in shorthand. It has been a source of regret that these letters were not purchased, but the limit of the writer's purse was reached in securing the papers relating particularly to Robert Emmet. It has been ascertained that after Dr. Frazer's death his effects were sold at public vendue, but it does not seem that these particular letters were sold at that time.

On the publication of *The Emmet Family*, etc., a presentation copy was sent to the library of the House of Commons. Since then the Government has been questioned in the House of Commons as to the disappearance of this chest of papers from the Record Office, Dublin Castle. From the published report it would seem that no special information was given by the Government, but it was intimated that at least a part of those papers was returned to London for their preservation. It is possible a portion may have been sent there, and the "Castle authorities" may have reclaimed those at the time in Dublin, which were in the possession of private individuals. Those I obtained by purchase are still in my possession, to be held as historical evidence of the murderous proceeding termed the "trial of Robert Emmet."

¹ For a history of the investigations undertaken, as this work was going to press, to determine the actual grave of Robert Emmet, see Appendix, note 7.

"I do not believe that the great majority of Englishmen have the slightest conception of the system under which this free nation attempts to rule the sister country. It is a system which is founded on the bayonets of thirty thousand soldiers . . . as completely centralized and bureaucratic as that with which Russia governs Poland."

Joseph Chamberlain—Parliament, 1885

CHAPTER XVII

THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND FOR A CENTURY—NUMBER OF COERCION ACTS—PARLIAMENT INDIFFERENT TO IRELAND'S WELFARE—LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT FOR IRELAND EXCLUDES THE RIGHTS WHICH THE ENGLISH AND SCOTCH COUNCILS POSSESS

THE history of the past century since the "Union" has been a dreary and heartrending one for Ireland, showing a degree of misery and suffering no other people have ever endured within the same space of time. With all of England's "paternal care" no less than eighty-six "Coercion Acts," with several yearly extensions by special vote, have been passed within this period "to pacify the people."

And, notwithstanding that there has existed in Ireland less crime in proportion to its population than in any other country, the British Parliament each year has passed the "Expiring Laws Continuation Bill," by which the last Coercion Act or, as it is termed, the "Peace Preservation Act for Ireland," is made continuous!

According to Fox¹:

"These Coercion enactments, in fact, have been so numerous, and have been in force so continuously for the last eighty-five years (1887) in Ireland, that for that period what is called the 'ordinary law' has been the exception in that country and extraordinary legislation utterly subversive of the ordinary law has been the rule. That is to say, 'Maintaining the undisputed supremacy of the law' has meant in the course of the last *eighty-five years* the passage of *eighty-six Coercion Acts*, either new or continuations of old ones; the existence, almost continuously,

¹ Pp. 80-83.

ever since the first year of the Union, of one or two Coercion codes which, as we shall see, outrage the most cherished principles of public and personal liberty; the all but complete and continuous supersession during that period of the ordinary law, as it is known in England and Scotland.”

The same author quotes from Earl Grey:

“ It is full time to have done with coercion; Ireland has been misgoverned; there have been too many Arms Acts and Curfew Acts; it is justice that is wanted now.”

And he states:

“ It was during this debate—March, 1846—that Lord Grey reviewed the history of all the martial laws and exceptional measures in force in Ireland from the time of the Union; reminding the House how in 1800, Habeas Corpus had been suspended under the action of a law—‘for the suppression of the rebellion,’—how that law had been put into force both in 1801, and again in 1804, how it had been superseded in 1807 by the ‘Insurrection Act,’ in force until 1810,—how, reviewed in 1814, it had been enforced during the years 1815, 1816, 1817,—how, reviewed in 1822, and sanctioned successively by the Parliaments of 1823, 1824, and 1825, it had, with only some slight modifications, been enforced in 1833 and 1834, and had ceased only in 1839. For eighty-six years the British Parliament had been legislating for Ireland. What has been accomplished, and by what means? The reply is by no means flattering. One of the very first conditions of national prosperity is in the undisturbed continuance of wise and righteous laws. This point cannot be better put than in the words of Earl Grey:

“ ‘ Do you suppose that men can embark in great enterprises of industry and commerce when they cannot venture outside their own houses after dark unless at the risk of being transported? *Until you can establish security on some better foundation, and make it compatible with a return to the ordinary law and constitution, restricting the executive Government to its constitutional powers—till you can do that, you have done nothing.* ’ ”

To show the reader the consideration for brute force with which the British Parliament has treated the Irish people

since the "Union," now existing for nearly a century, and how indifferent, as of old, Parliament has been during the same period to the prosperity of the country, the following list of the various Coercion Acts in the interest of the landlord are presented¹:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1800-5 Habeas Corpus Suspension ;
seven Coercion Acts. | 1846 Constabulary Enlargement. |
| 1807 1st February, Coercion Act ;
Habeas Corpus Suspension ; 2d
August, Insurrection Act. | 1847 Crimes and Outrage Act. |
| 1808-9 Habeas Corpus Suspension. | 1848 Treason Amendment Act ;
Removal of Arms Act ; Suspen-
sion of Habeas Corpus ; another
Oaths Act. |
| 1814-16 Habeas Corpus Suspension ;
Insurrection Act. | 1849 Suspension of Habeas Corpus. |
| 1817 Habeas Corpus Suspension ;
one Coercion Act. | 1850 Crime and Outrage Act. |
| 1822-30 Habeas Corpus Suspension ;
two Coercion Acts in 1822 and
one in 1823. | 1851 Unlawful Oaths Act. |
| 1830 Importation of Arms Act. | 1853 Crime and Outrage Act. |
| 1831 Whiteboy Act ; Stanley's Arms
Act. | 1854 Crime and Outrage Act. |
| 1832 Arms and Gunpowder Act. | 1855 Crime and Outrage Act. |
| 1833 Suppression of Disturbance ;
Change of Venue Act. | 1856 Peace Preservation Act. |
| 1834 Disturbances Amendment and
Continuance ; Arms and Gun-
powder Act. | 1858 Peace Preservation Act. |
| 1835 Public Peace Act. | 1860 Peace Preservation Act. |
| 1836 Another Arms Act. | 1862 Peace Preservation Act ; Un-
lawful Oaths Act. |
| 1838 Another Arms Act. | 1865 Peace Preservation Act. |
| 1839 Unlawful Oaths Act. | 1866 Suspension of Habeas Corpus
Act, August ; Suspension of
Habeas Corpus. |
| 1840 Another Arms Act. | 1867 Suspension of Habeas Corpus. |
| 1841 Outrages Act ; another Arms
Act. | 1868 Suspension of Habeas Corpus. |
| 1843 Another Arms Act ; Act con-
solidating all previous Coercion
Acts. | 1870 Peace Preservation Act. |
| 1844 Unlawful Oaths Act. | 1871 Protection of Life and Prop-
erty ; Peace Preservation Cont. |
| 1845 Additional Constables near
Public Works Acts ; Unlawful
Oaths Act. | 1873 Peace Preservation Act. |
| | 1875 Peace Preservation Act ; Un-
lawful Oaths Act. |
| | 1881-2 Peace Preservation Act ; Sus-
pending Habeas Corpus. |
| | 1881-6 Arms Act. |
| | 1882-5 Crimes Act. |
| | 1886-7 Arms Act. |

¹ From Fox, p. 80, as "Compiled from Mr. T. P. O'Connor's recently published volume, *The Parnell Movement*," p. 21, "and from a pamphlet published a few years since by Mr. I. S. Leadam, an English writer."

As already stated Parliament has, each year to date, passed the "Expiring Laws Continuation Bill," by which the last "Peace Preservation Act" is made continuous¹:

"The last Coercion Act of 1882, which expired in 1885, was, in many of its provisions, the most drastic measure of the kind which ever passed through Parliament. It has been described as the quintessence of the innumerable enactments of the same kind by which it was preceded. It contained in one form or another, almost all the worst provisions of almost all the other Coercion Acts, with the additional provision for doing away with juries altogether, and making the members of the judicial bench act as jurymen as well as judges. . . . The coercion system, thus, instead of becoming milder with time, becomes in its latest development extremely harsh and stringent, and in some respects, even more harsh and stringent than ever before; because the Crimes Act of 1882 brought into play, simultaneously, a number of coercionist instruments which previously had not been provided for in any single statute."

Mr. Fox also states:

"The conquest of Ireland was begun in the twelfth century: To-day even that conquest is not definitely accomplished, and it would seem as though the victor feared that, at any moment, the prize might slip from his grasp. Hence the system of distrust and legal precaution, and those coercion measures which are subversive of the general principles of the British Constitution. Hence that contempt for common right, and the reign of exceptional legislation which brands a whole people with suspicion, and perpetually thrusts upon them the stigma of their composing a vanquished nation. It is said that the British Constitution is based upon trial by jury and the Habeas Corpus Act; but the foregoing list of Coercion Acts shows what becomes of these fundamental safeguards whenever State reasons interfere between the governors and the governed in Ireland."

In the House of Commons, Lord Brougham also denounced coercion:

"We are driving six millions of people to despair, to madness! . . . The greatest mockery of all—the most intolerable insult

¹Fox, p. 85.

—the cause of peculiar exasperation—against which I chiefly caution the House, is the undertaking to cure the distress under which Ireland labours by anything in the shape of new penal enactments. It is in these enactments alone that we have shown our liberality to Ireland! She has received Penal Laws from the hands of England almost as plentifully as she has received blessings from the hands of Providence! What have these laws done? Checked her turbulence, but not stifled it. The grievance remaining perpetually, the complaint can only be postponed. We may load her with chains, but in doing so we shall not better her condition. By coercion we may goad her on to fury; but by coercion we shall *never break her spirit*. She will rise up and break the fetters we impose, and arm herself for deadly violence with the fragments.”¹—*Speeches*, vol. iv.

The following table, although incomplete, shows the constant rejection of Land Bills from 1829 and is in grim and melancholy contrast with another table—already given—of statistics compiled to show the facility with which Coercion Acts, almost as numerous, were passed, sometimes hurriedly, through both houses of Parliament within the same period of half a century:

1829	Brownlow's Bill dropped in Lords.
1830	Grattan's Waste Land Bill, refused.
1831	Smith's Bill for Relief of the Aged, dropped.
1835	Sarman Crawford's Bill, dropped.
1836	Sarman Crawford's Bill, dropped.
1836	Lynch's Reclamation Bill, dropped.
1845	Lord Stanley's Bill, dropped.
1845	Sarman Crawford's Bill, dropped.
1846	Mr. Sarman Crawford, abortive.
1846	Lord Lincoln, Secretary of Ireland, abortive.
1847	Mr. Sarman Crawford, abortive.
1848	Sir W. Somerville, abortive.
1848	Mr. Sarman Crawford, abortive.
1849	Mr. Pusey, abortive.
1850	Sir W. Somerville, abortive.
1850	Mr. S. Crawford, abortive.
1851	Mr. S. Crawford, abortive.
1852	Mr. S. Crawford, abortive.
1853	Mr. Napier, abortive.
1853	Mr. Sergeant Shee, abortive.
1855	Mr. Sergeant Shee, abortive.
1856	Mr. Moore, abortive.
1857	Mr. Moore, abortive.
1858	Mr. Maguire, abortive.

¹ Fox, p. 104.

List of Rejected Land Bills

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DATE	BILL	INTRODUCED BY	FATE
1871	Landed Property, Ireland, Act 1847, Amendment Bill.....	Sergeant Sherlock	Withdrawn
1872	Ulster Tenant Right Bill.....	Mr. Butt.....	Dropped
1873	Ulster Tenant Right Bill.....	Mr. Butt.....	Dropped
1873	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill.....	Mr. Butt.....	Dropped
1873	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill, No. 2.....	Mr. Heron.....	Dropped
1874	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill.....	Mr. Butt.....	Dropped
1874	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill, No. 2.....	Sir J. Grey.....	Dropped
1874	Ulster Tenant Right Bill.....	Mr. Butt.....	Dropped
1874	Irish Land Act Extension Bill.....	The. O'Donoghue	Dropped
1875	Landed Proprietors, Ireland, Bill.....	Mr. Smyth.....	Dropped
1875	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act 1870, Amendment Bill.....	Mr. Crawford....	Rejected
1876	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act 1870, Amendment Bill.....	Mr. Crawford....	Withdrawn
1876	Tenant Right on Expiration of Leases Bill	Mr. Mulholland..	Dropped
1876	Land Tenure, Ireland, Bill.....	Mr. Butt.....	Rejected
1877	Land Tenure, Ireland, Bill.....	Mr. Butt.....	Rejected
1877	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act 1870, Amendment Bill.....	Mr. Crawford....	Withdrawn
1878	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act 1870, Amendment Bill.....	Mr. Herbert.....	Dropped
1878	Tenant Right Bill.....	Lord A. Hill....	Rejected by Lords
1878	Tenant Right, Ulster, Bill.....	Mr. Macartney ..	Withdrawn
1878	Tenants' Improvements, Ireland, Bill....	Mr. Martin.....	Rejected
1878	Tenants' Protection, Ireland, Bill.....	Mr. Moore.....	Dropped
1879	Ulster Tenant Right Bill.....	Mr. Macartney ..	Rejected
1879	Ulster Tenant Right Bill, No. 2.....	Lord A. Hill....	Withdrawn
1879	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Bill.....	Mr. Herbert.....	Dropped
1879	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act 1870, Amendment Bill.....	Mr. Taylor.....	Dropped
1879	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act 1870, Amendment Bill, No. 2.....	Mr. Downing....	Rejected
1880	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act 1870, Amendment Bill.....	Mr. Taylor.....	Dropped
1880	Ulster Tenants' Right Bill.....	Mr. Macartney ..	Dropped
1880	Fixity of Tenure, Ireland, Bill.....	Mr. Litton.....	Rejected
1880	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act 1870, Amendment Bill.....	Mr. O'C. Power .	Dropped
1880	Compensation for Disturbance, Ireland, Bill, to prevent eviction under circumstances of excessive hardship.....	Mr. W. E. Forster	Rejected by Lords
1886	Tenants' Relief, Ireland, Bill.....	Mr. C. S. Parnell	Rejected

Carte has stated¹:

“The English seem never to have understood the art of governing their provinces and have always treated them in such a manner, as either to put them under a necessity or subject them to the temptation, of casting off their government whenever an opportunity offered. It was a series of this impolitic conduct which lost them Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, Guyenne, and all the dominions which they formerly had in France. . . . It is not a little surprising that a thinking people, as the English are, should not grow wiser by any experience, and after losing such considerable territories abroad by their oppressive treatment of them, should go on to hazard the loss of Ireland, and endeavor the ruin of a colony of their own countrymen planted in that kingdom.”

Carte was writing in relation to the condition of affairs in Ireland in 1666.

As a rule the House of Commons has been indifferent to Ireland's welfare and whatever action has been taken by that body was directed chiefly to holding Ireland by the throat. Yet at times there were individuals with the forethought of statesmen who laid aside their British prejudices against the Irish people and made honest effort in the House of Commons to right the wrongs attending the misgovernment of that unhappy country. Such efforts, having passed the House of Commons, were almost invariably defeated by the action of the House of Lords, as the members of this body have never assented willingly to the passage of any measure relating to Ireland unless it were a coercion bill or some provision detrimental to the welfare of the country.² In truth it may be held that the Lords of England for several hundred years past have been re-

¹ Vol. iv., pp. 232, 233.

² The only exception known to the writer on this charge was in the case of Daniel O'Connell, who, after he had been condemned in Dublin by a packed jury of the Government, and from which verdict an appeal was made, was acquitted by the "Law Lords" of the House of Lords, whose legal training caused them to lay aside their prejudices and rule on the evidence.

sponsible, directly or indirectly, for the greater part of Ireland's suffering and have been generally the direct cause of the misgovernment of the country, as the head of the Ministry was generally taken from that body. At one period the House of Lords was a powerful organization, as it represented the wealth, education and political influence of the country as well as the office-holders, who constituted a class almost entirely composed of their impecunious relatives. But they have long lost the blind reverence of the people and as constituted at present it would be difficult to conceive of a more useless appendage to the body politic than the English House of Lords. The Lords no longer represent more than their own personal interests and those of their kinsmen, the Irish landlords. Moreover, they have long since become blind to the fact that their course of action must surely lead to their own elimination. No one can better recognize the drift of public opinion than a stranger travelling through the country, especially if he judiciously seeks for information from the people about him. This the writer has frequently done and he is convinced that a great change in public opinion has taken place in England during the past thirty years. Her late Majesty, from living an exemplary private life, held the respect of the people during her lifetime and was succeeded by Edward VII.; but for the future no one can do more than offer a conjecture. It is evident, at least, that the great veneration for royalty and the nobility that formerly existed does not exist in England to-day. As regards the House of Lords the indications are clear that sooner or later it will come into serious collision with some action of the House of Commons, not connected with the interests of Ireland, when the wish of the people will then be quickly asserted. After some revolutionary movement, the House of Lords will cease to exist or will remain as a figure-head without the power longer of doing harm to itself or to the country. Oliver Cromwell, with all his cant and demon-like cruelty to the Irish people, was a re-

markable man with more brains at his command than any other occupant of the British throne, before or since his day, and he had a just appreciation of the need or value of the House of Lords in the management of public affairs. Probably another Cromwell in the future will settle their status permanently for the benefit of the country.

The House of Lords refused at first assent to the Catholic Emancipation Bill, as the majority of its members have done to every other Act for the relief of Ireland which did finally pass Parliament under the pressure of necessity. The Lords have also frequently blocked the passage of measures providing for important English interests but yielded an unwilling co-operation under the salutary threat of the Ministry to create, if necessary, a sufficient number of new peers to command a majority in their House. The Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel and other British Ministers have from time to time thus figuratively shown their teeth to some purpose under like necessity in the past and Mr. Gladstone would have done likewise, had he not been too old a man for the situation when the recent Home-Rule Bill passed the House of Commons under his direction and was rejected by the House of Lords, with their usual indifference to the welfare of Ireland.

The returns from the recent Irish County Council elections show, as given in the public Press, that out of a total of 663 Councilmen chosen, 544 members were Nationalists and consequently in favor of Home Rule, while 119 were Unionists or less than one-fifth of the whole.

In Ulster, the "loyalist province," ninety Nationalists were returned to eighty Unionists, who received, of course, the full vote of the Orangemen; thus indicating that the National party represents a majority of the inhabitants of Ulster notwithstanding the claims of the Orangemen to the contrary.

The vote of the Nationalists for the whole of Ireland was in the proportion of five to one; in Connaught, Munster and Leinster combined, it was thirteen to one Unionist and

it gave a majority in Ulster alone. In other words—out of a total of thirty-three county chairmanships the National party gained twenty-six and in Ulster, where the opposition or “Union” party was greater than in any other portion of Ireland, the Nationalists gained ninety-six district Councils out of a total of one hundred and thirteen!

This vote had no religious bias on either side, as a large number of the Protestants are of the National party in Ulster while many of the Catholics who are in close relation with those of their faith in England are opposed to the National party and consequently to Home Rule.

The Local Government Act was passed by Parliament with the purpose doubtless of dividing the National party on their demand for a full measure of Home Rule and it was equally expected to furnish the means by which the landlord class would be continued in the control of local affairs through the vote of their tenants. But the people, recognizing their opportunity, united and, voting by secret ballot, with the increased number franchised through Mr. Gladstone's influence, overwhelmed the Landlord party; thus the Irish people have gained to a great extent the management of their local affairs. But instead of the Local Government Act being accepted as a substitute it will have the effect of again uniting the Irish people in a more urgent demand for Home Rule with their own Parliament. No practical advance can be gained in the righting Ireland's wrongs unless the people thus have the power of formulating as well as enforcing their own laws to that end.

The powers of the County Councillors are stated to be: 1st. The making of new roads, bridges, quays; 2d. The repairing of the same; 3d. Building and repairing of courts of justice; 4th. Building and repairing of prisons; 5th. Prison expenses; 6th. Police expenses; 7th. Salaries of county officers; 8th. Public charities; 9th. Repayment of Government advances. As grand jurors they have control over hospitals and infirmaries, the building and repairing of diocesan schools, expenses of inquests, prosecution of

offenders, maintaining deserted children, expenses of general valuation, expenses of Commissioner of Public Works, compensation for malicious injuries, expenses under the Arms Act and some others of minor importance. To meet these expenses the County Councillors now have the power to regulate and collect the local taxation. Thus the people have gained a great advance towards local Home Rule. But the working of these Councils can never be as efficacious in practice as necessity requires, from the fact that the British Parliament, with its usual lack of generosity towards Ireland, if not with the spirit of spite, did not trust the Irish people with the same powers freely exercised by the English and Scotch Councils. Not only is the scope of their power less but the action of the Irish Board is restricted by checks and a veto power, placed with the Lord Lieutenant and others. This was done to render the influence as inefficient as possible wherever the control was held by the Nationalists while the Orangemen and Unionists when in the majority will be allowed to assume the power they lack and without question. The natural consequence will be that, instead of this measure being satisfactory to any but the English sympathizers in Ireland, it will be the means of firmly uniting the Irish people in a determined action to obtain the full management of their own affairs as the only hope of gaining peace and prosperity for the whole country.

With Home Rule alone Ireland could not fully prosper, as she would still need at least the power she possessed under the Grattan Parliament of regulating the tariff for the protection of her industries, as is exercised by Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other of the British provinces. It would be necessary to raise a revenue by protection, even if discrimination against the imports of England became exercised. No question seems more clearly established in political economy than the fact that a manufacturing country like England can only prosper under free trade to obtain the raw material while Ireland, under favorable circumstances being able to raise an excess of food from her soil, would

need a protective tariff until her manufactories became developed; then a compromise would be necessary to maintain the property of the most important interests.

As England has only considered her own interests her legislation has necessarily been most detrimental to the welfare of Ireland, since a totally different or directly opposite condition has existed in the two countries; necessarily the aid of different measures was required to insure the prosperity of each.

A united action of the Irish people in the support of any demand is the only argument which carries the weight of conviction with the English Parliament. The fact cannot be reiterated too often that the only time England has ever considered seriously any measure for Ireland's benefit has been when prompted by fear of an outbreak at a time when the Government was not prepared. It was Ireland's opportunity.

It has been held that the past should now be forgotten since within a recent period a large portion of the people in both countries acted together politically under Mr. Gladstone's leadership and that a more extended knowledge in relation to Ireland now exists among the English people than at any former period. History will show, unfortunately, that throughout the past six hundred years Ireland has suffered most from the acts of those English officials who were best informed as to her condition and it cannot be forgotten that England's representatives in Ireland have seldom observed the pledged faith of their country longer than while England derived advantage therefrom.

Ireland was never in greater danger as to her uncertain future than during convalescence from the brutal infliction of the last Coercion Act. It would be difficult for the Irish people to forget the circumstance that within a few years, when throughout Ireland as peaceful a condition existed as ever exists in that unhappy country, when the degree of absence from crime was noted in Ireland to an extent unknown in England or in any other country, the last Coercion

Act was passed for political purposes by the Tory Parliament and was precipitated upon the country with as little warning as the advent of a bolt from a clear sky. Mr. Balfour, the Irish Secretary, acted so promptly that within a few days, as he intended, the whole country was thrown into a state of turmoil by the suspension of all law but the brutal promptings of the Government officials who in blindly carrying out the behest of their chief exhibited their only fitness for office.

At no time, in the absence of war and pestilence, did the Irish people suffer more under British rule than during this period.

Innocent persons were murdered, shot down and kicked to death by the brutal police and soldiers without even reprimand from those in command. An unknown number of men, women, boys and young girls were unjustly imprisoned, often simply to gratify private malice. They were subjected to bodily violence, they were starved, they were in several instances deprived of all clothing in the depth of winter and in fact subjected to a degree of barbarous cruelty which only an English jailer can inflict when in charge of political prisoners. The murder of John Mandeville is not likely to be forgotten. Where direct violence was not resorted to often respectable women and unmarried girls of good social position were treated as common felons and were forced, under the most trivial charges, into the company of prostitutes and the most abandoned of their sex. But the occurrence is too recent for any dispassionate consideration of the details of this frightful period of Ireland's suffering unless, paradoxical as it may seem, the recital were based on personal experience; for those who suffered most have complained the least, being too proud to gratify the Government officials.

The reader may consult the sixteenth chapter, "The Regime of Brutality," in *The Parnell Movement*, etc., by T. P. O'Connor, M.P., New York edition. The full evidence is there given that the brutal instincts of a British official in

charge of political prisoners in Ireland have not changed from the days of Queen Elizabeth to those of her late gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria.

The treatment of John Mitchel, O'Donovan Rossa, Michael Davitt and of hundreds of other political prisoners in England is well known.

The writer had the honor of a personal acquaintance with the three individuals mentioned, and notwithstanding they were charged with all that malice and ignorance could dictate he is certain no one could justly question the honesty and truthfulness of these men. The probabilities, therefore, are that they did not exaggerate in their published narratives their suffering as prisoners nor as to the punishment to which they were subjected, which will stand as a lasting disgrace to the English Government. Within a more recent period there has been some improvement in the prison treatment of Irish political prisoners, but the degree has only been a change from what might have been termed fiendish malignancy to one of brutal indifference.

During the late Mr. Davitt's short term of service in Parliament he was made a member of a committee, composed of T. P. O'Connor and John Dillon, to investigate the treatment of political prisoners. The treatment to which Mr. Davitt had been subjected at Dartmouth and Portland prisons in England, as well as that meted out elsewhere to every other prisoner under British control, was known to every member of Parliament, and yet there seemed no probability of any step ever being taken to correct the fearful abuse. At length from force of circumstances and by action of the Irish delegation a committee of investigation had to be formed of Irish members, and Parliament was forced to take action on their report. If a humorous feature could be imagined in connection with this action of the majority in the British Parliament, it was certainly made apparent in the formation of this committee of Irish members, with full power to provide for the future keeping in all probability of themselves and friends—as at any time it was possible for

the Government under the Crimes Act to imprison with hard labor an Irish member of Parliament, and many have suffered from trivial charges which would have had no standing in any English court.

"The real truth is that Ulster, like the rest of Ireland . . . is by no means the home of exceptional comfort, but . . . has suffered much from misgovernment."

I. C. Fox

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TRUE CONDITION OF ULSTER—ITS MORALS AND PROSPERITY

HAVING in a former chapter disposed of the Orangemen, it is not inappropriate that we consider at some length the condition of Ulster which, having been a supposed Protestant section for some three hundred years, was in consequence more favored by the British Government than any other portion of Ireland.

For the past one hundred years its affairs have been chiefly directed by the Orangemen. Until the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill the ruling, in accord with the law, was that a "Papist" had no legal existence nor recognition in Ireland; and this was particularly the case in Ulster. Consequently, whenever it was possible to do so, the British Government has carefully cared for the prosperity of Ulster so far at least as the interests of the Orangemen were concerned and this has been the course of every administration without reference to English politics. No measure for the relief of Ireland has within this period been seriously considered by the Government, unless it first met with the approval of the Orangemen of Ulster and they were to be chiefly benefited thereby.

The writer had already collected a mass of material bearing on the subject before the little work by J. C. Fox¹ came under his observation. He found the *Ulster Question* treated of in so thorough a manner as to embody much

¹P. 150.

more information from official reports on the subject than he could obtain from any other source. The reader will therefore be given the benefit of the greater portion of the seventeenth chapter bearing on this subject:

THE ULSTER QUESTION : IS THE PROVINCE PROTESTANT ?

“ *Ulster, tried by every test of wealth, education, and the comfortable dwellings of the people, is far in advance of the southern and western provinces of Ireland—an exploded superstition.*

“ It is still so commonly understood in England, although without the slightest warrant, that Ulster is almost an exclusively Protestant province, it may be rendering a service to the politics of common-sense to expose the fallacy once more, even though it should be for the hundredth time. The *Times* (London) with characteristic enterprise, found out this fallacy some time ago, and uttered the following thoughtful reflections on the fact in June, 1884:

“ ‘ *The truth is that Ulster is by no means the homogeneous Orange and Protestant community which it suits the Orangemen to represent it. In some counties the Catholics are in a large majority, and it must be acknowledged, we fear, that the Nationalists have a much stronger hold on many parts of Ulster than it is at all satisfactory to contemplate.*’

“ The following figures, compiled from the Census returns of 1881,¹ furnish very instructive reading, especially for those persons who have been so far misled by the ‘heedless rhetoric’ of the platform and the Press as to imagine that the Northern Irish province is exclusively, or even essentially, Protestant in its population:

ANTRIM COUNTY		ARMAGH COUNTY	
Catholics.....	107,175	Catholics.....	75,709
Episcopalians.....	96,415	Episcopalians.....	53,390
Presbyterians.....	178,415	Presbyterians.....	26,077
Methodists.....	11,407	Methodists.....	4,884
Other denominations.....	18,350	Other denominations.....	3,109

¹ Notwithstanding the great Catholic emigration which has continued from Ireland during the past twenty years, the recent census shows that the Catholics have not lost ground in Ulster during this period but have actually gained.



"Ulster, in Ireland, is a Province, Including Nine Counties, and Amongst These Counties are Donegal, Tyrone, Monaghan, and Cavan, Which are as Preponderatingly Catholic as Counties Like Down and Antrim are Preponderatingly Protestant. In the Second Place, Ulster, Apart From Belfast, Where Nearly One-Third of the Population is Catholic, is not Protestant, but Catholic. According to the Census Returns of 1901, the Total Population of Ulster was 1,582,826. Leaving Out Belfast, With a Population of 255,000, Which Includes 85,000 Catholics, the Figures for Ulster Stand at 699,202 Catholics and 637,674 Protestants, Showing a Catholic Majority of 71,528."

---JOSEPH DEVLIN.

From the *Irish World*, New York, April 17, 1909, based on an address delivered at Letterkenny by Joseph Devlin, a National member of Parliament from Ulster, on "Ulster and Home Rule," for which the data were taken from Thom's *Official Directory*.

CAVAN COUNTY

Catholics	104,685
Episcopalians	19,022
Presbyterians.....	4,396
Methodists.....	1,088
Other denominations.....	285

DONEGAL COUNTY

Catholics.....	157,608
Episcopalians.....	24,759
Presbyterians.....	20,784
Methodists.....	2,014
Other denominations.....	870

DOWN COUNTY

Catholics	81,080
Episcopalians	63,721
Presbyterians	109,220
Methodists.....	5,055
Other denominations.....	12,957

DERRY COUNTY

Catholics	73,274
Episcopalians.....	31,596
Presbyterians	54,727
Methodists.....	938
Other denominations.....	4,426

FERMANAGH COUNTY

Catholics.....	47,359
Episcopalians.....	30,874
Presbyterians	1,708
Methodists.....	4,863
Other denominations.....	57

MONAGHAN COUNTY

Catholics.....	75,714
Episcopalians.....	13,623
Presbyterians	12,213
Methodists.....	514
Other denominations.....	652

TYRONE COUNTY

Catholics.....	109,793
Episcopalians.....	44,256
Presbyterians	38,564
Methodists.....	3,597
Other denominations.....	1,499

CARRICKFERGUS, COUNTY OF THE TOWN OF.

Catholics.....	1,169
Episcopalians.....	1,746
Presbyterians.....	5,525
Methodists	435
Other denominations.....	1,127 "

Summary of the population of the counties of Ulster, showing the numerical strength of its three great religious bodies:

Catholics.....	833,566
Episcopalians.....	379,402
Presbyterians.....	451,629

“And the foresight of the *Times* in 1884 was proved to demonstrate at the last Election, since of the thirty-three Ulster members seventeen are Nationalists, or, in other words, the Nationalists representatives of that province are actually in a majority of one over all the other Ulster members combined.”

Of the nine Ulster counties the following—four in number—are wholly represented by Nationalists: Donegal, Cavan, Fermanagh, Monaghan.

“Of the other five Ulster counties, there is now not one in which the Nationalists do not hold one or more seats. Thus, of the four seats in Tyrone, they have two; of the four Down seats they have one; of the three seats for Derry they have one; of the three Armagh seats they have one; and of the Antrim seats, the Nationalists now hold West Belfast. Instead, therefore, of Ulster being a Protestant province, it is simply a province whose extreme eastern portion is overwhelmingly Protestant, in contrast to its western, central, and southern portions, which are overwhelmingly Catholic.

“The overwhelmingly Protestant division comprises one-fourth of the area, and about two-fifths of the population, and three counties; the overwhelmingly Catholic division comprises three-fifths of the population, and three-fourths of the area, and six counties.”

IS ULSTER WEALTHY?

“Another popular superstition prevails very widely in England and that is, that Ulster is exceptionally prosperous and that this is so because it is the abode of Protestantism. If Ulster were exceptionally prosperous, the fact could be easily accounted for, without taking into consideration the very peculiar loyalty of some of its inhabitants. It was there only that, before recent land legislation, any limit was put by the custom of tenant right to oppression by the landlords, and Ulster possessed the one Irish industry—linen—which was not entirely crushed out of existence by British law and policy. Mr. T. Galloway Rigg, a Scotch statistician, has exploded this fallacy with aid of Parliamentary returns, moved for by Mr. Peter Rylands and Mr. Trevelyan, in 1882 and 1884 respectively. Mr. Ryland’s return gives the income tax assessments for the four Irish provinces as follows:

	POPULATION 1881	INCOME TAX, ASSESSMENTS 1870-1880	INCOME TAX, ASSESSMENT PER INHABITANT
Leinster	1,282,881.....	£13,272,202.....	£ 10 6 9
Munster.....	1,323,910.....	7,980,076.....	6 0 7
Ulster.....	1,739,542.....	9,952,289.....	5 14 5
Connaught.....	813,506.....	2,995,438.....	3 13 7

“ But there is another comparison to test the wealth of the four Irish provinces, and that is exhibited by Mr. Trevelyan’s return, giving the valuations of ratable property in each county and borough constituency, province by province; which clearly verifies the reference to be drawn from the preceding statistics:

	POPULATION 1881	VALUATION OF RATABLE PROPERTY	VALUATION PER INHABITANT
Leinster	1,282,881	£4,711,193	£3 13 5
Munster	1,323,910	3,365,182	2 10 10
Ulster	1,739,542	4,348,713	2 9 11
Connaught	813,506	1,431,019	1 15 2

“ So that whether we take Income-tax assessments or the valuation of ratable property as a comparative criterion of wealth, it is evident that Ulster must take third place in the roll of Irish provinces, as regards comparative wealth. Indeed, if Ulster had been ‘exceptionally prosperous,’ it would not have the fatal pre-eminence shown by the emigration returns for the decade 1871–81; for people do not usually flee the country in which they are prosperous. The following figures show the ratio in which the provincial population of Ireland decreased in the decade 1871–81:

Ulster	5.38 per cent.
Munster	5.26 “
Leinster	4.68 “
Connaught	3.59 ” “

IS ULSTER EXCEPTIONALLY EDUCATED?

We have seen how unfounded is the boast of the exceptional wealth of Ulster. Let us now see how it stands as regards the education of its people, in comparison with the other three provinces. The percentage of persons able to read and write in the four provinces is thus tabulated in the census returns for 1881:

Leinster	58.5
Ulster	53.4
Munster	53.2
Connaught	41.5

“A further Parliamentary return shows that there are thousands of ‘illiterates’ in every Ulster county, including the ‘Loyalist’ stronghold. The figures showing the illiterates for the boroughs, which are as follows, are very significant:

Belfast.....	1,559
Cork.....	1,297
Dublin.....	867
Derry.....	637
Limerick.....	425
Waterford.....	416
Galway.....	381

“It would thus appear that not only does Belfast, the headquarters of Orangeism, contain the largest number of illiterate voters, but it has nearly twice as many as Dublin, which has nearly 52,000 more population. Derry, too, with a population of 29,162 has 212 more ‘illiterates’ than Limerick, which has a population of 48,670, and 221 more ‘illiterates’ than Waterford, the population of which is about equal to that of the home of the ‘Apprentice Boys.’ ”

IS ULSTER PROVIDENTIALLY HOUSED?

“And Mr. Trevelyan’s return of the 24th May, 1884, brings out, in addition, the following results as regards houses rated at one pound and under—that is, houses of the lowest class:

Ulster.....	152,499
Connaught.....	105,008
Munster.....	92,632
Leinster.....	85,040

“In other words, Ulster has more than a third of the whole number of the worse class of houses in Ireland.”

WHAT ARE THE AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS OF THE PROVINCE?

“There are 538,000 agricultural holdings in Ireland whose average rental does not exceed six pounds a year each and of these the *Times* lately stated, following the high authority of Sir James Caird, that they belonged to a class of holdings from which

Ulster's Poor Agricultural Holdings 315

the rental was, if the present agricultural depression continued, 'practically irrecoverable by anybody.' The following table shows that Ulster has not only by far the largest number of these miserable holdings, *but more than Munster and Leinster have when added together* :

Ulster	207,833
Connaught	128,124
Munster.....	105,429
Leinster.....	97,000
	538,386

“ Mr. T. W. Russell,¹ an Irish Tory M. P., speaking lately (1886) in the House of Commons on Mr. Parnell's Bill, stated that, according to a recent Parliamentary return, there were more evictions in Ulster than in any other province—a natural result, seeing the extraordinary proportion of small holdings that province contained, and the poverty of its agricultural population as compared with that of either Leinster or Munster. The following table affords an additional instance of the comparative poverty of the self-styled Imperial Province:

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) OCT., 1882—PROVINCIAL SUMMARY OF PAYMENT UNDER SECTION I

	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS	TOTAL ARREARS WIPED OFF	PAID TO LANDLORDS
Connaught.....	52,883.....	£634,331.....	£273,716
Ulster.....	41,134.....	561,391.....	239,125
Leinster and Munster.....	31,873.....	565,100.....	254,744

“ ‘With regard to taxation,’ said Mr. Goschen, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech on the first reading of the Home Rule Bill, ‘there is another point on which I wish to

¹ Mr. Russell opposed the Home Rule movement but he has proved a strong advocate of the United Irish League, in a movement for a division of the large grazing tract among the people on such terms as will aid the tenant in becoming eventually the owner. The Protestant farmers of Ulster have been roused through the efforts of Mr. Russell to advocate this measure. This is the first movement made by them during the past one hundred years really to unite in their interests instead of blindly opposing, as they have done, every effort made by the National party to benefit the people of every section.

ask the views of the Government. I want to know whether the financial situation won't be materially altered as to whether Ulster is included or not included in the arrangement? I myself believe that the whole financial equilibrium will break down if Ulster should be excluded.'

"And Mr. David Plunket, M.P., stated at a public meeting lately that 'Ulster tried by every test of wealth, education, and the comfortable dwellings of the people, was far in advance of the southern and western provinces of Ireland.' When public men so eminent are laboring under so extraordinary a delusion, while having access to the Library of the House of Commons, to Parliamentary and other public documents, there is surely some excuse for the inveterate superstition about Ulster which is embedded in the minds of the 'millions.' The real truth is that Ulster, like the rest of Ireland, despite the energy and industry of its inhabitants of all creeds, is not by any means the home of exceptional comfort but has on the contrary, like the rest of Ireland, suffered much from misgovernment and, like the rest of Ireland, can never really be happy or contented till it comes under the fostering sway of a native Parliament, such as that which has been proposed by Mr. Gladstone."

WHAT ARE ITS MORAL CONDITIONS?

"It were scarcely worth while pursuing the Ulster craze further but for another statistical point, and that a delicate one, which it is necessary, in the interest of truth, to have clearly established. Of the children born in Ireland in 1885, 112,733, or 97.2 per cent., were legitimate, and 3,218, or 2.8 per cent. illegitimate, according to the Twenty-second Annual Report of the Irish Registrar-General, himself a Protestant. Taking the illegitimate births in their order of magnitude, they are: Ulster, 4.3 per cent.; Leinster, 2.3 per cent.; Munster, 2.2 per cent.; Connaught, 0.9 per cent.¹ As these are in provinces, we will take the highest and

¹ The annual report of the Irish Registrar General for 1907, gives the following record: "Of the children born in Ulster, 3.3 were illegitimate; in Leinster, 2.7; in Munster, 2.1; and in Connaught, 0.5 per cent." Of the 101,742 births registered during the year in Ireland, 99,178 or 93.5 per cent were legitimate and 2,564 illegitimate.

the lowest of the counties in order to show the shame and the glory of Irish womanhood. The highest in their order of unchastity are: Antrim, 5.8; Armagh, 5.0; Londonderry, 4.8; Down, 4.5; Tyrone, 4.0; Fermanagh, 3.5; Monaghan, 2.8; Donegal, 2.0; Cavan, 1.6. These nine counties are in Ulster. In Connaught, where the average of illegitimate births is 0.9, there are five counties: Galway, 1.5 per cent.; Sligo, 1.0 per cent.; Mayo, 0.7 per cent.; Roscommon, 0.7; Leitrim, 0.6. In chastity these five counties represent the flower of womankind. Let us consider the meaning of the figures. In one thousand persons in Antrim there are fifty-eight illegitimate children, in Leitrim only six. If female chastity be a virtue, then the above figures show the relative proportion, as regards the virtue of their women, between the two counties named, *i. e.*, Orange Antrim and Romanist Leitrim.

“ The *Pall Mall Gazette*, London, is responsible for what follows:

“ ‘ What can give rise to the great difference between the greater portion of the women of Ulster and those of the other parts of Ireland? Dividing Ulster into two portions, Protestants and Catholics, and judging these by the number of Protestant and Catholic marriages celebrated last year we find the proportion to be, per cent.:

	PROTESTANTS	CATHOLICS	ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS
Antrim	80	20	5.8*
Down	73	27	4.8*
Londonderry	60	40	4.8*
Armagh	60	40	5. *
Fermanagh	54	46	3.5
Tyrone	53	47	4. *
Monaghan	34	66	2.8
Cavan	27	73	1.6
Donegal	22	78	2.

“ ‘ The counties marked * returned Orange members to the present Parliament. It seems that Orangeism and illegitimacy go together, and that illegitimate children in Ireland are in proportion to Orange Lodges. No other county in Ireland returns an Orangeman.’

“ So far for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. But, unfortunately, the

painful past revealed by these figures has been attested in another way. Sir John Forbes, D.C.L., of Oxford, and Queen's physician besides, travelling through Ireland in 1852, reported on the subject in this startling fashion:

“ ‘ That the proportion of illegitimate children coincides almost exactly with the relative proportions of the two religions in each province of Ireland, being large where the Protestant element is large, and small where it is small. Thus, in Connaught, where the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is only 1 to 6.45, the proportion of illegitimate children to legitimate is only 1 to 23.53; while in Ulster, where the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is as 1.42 to 1, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children is as 7.26 to 1. ’—*Memorandums Made in Ireland in 1852*, vol. ii., p. 245.

“ As there appears to be no longer reason to doubt the justice of the reflections uttered by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, it must be charitably concluded that Ulster Orangemen devote so much time to piously cursing the Pope and the Papists, there is little left for their meditating on the sacred injunctions contained in the seventh commandment.”

Mr. Fox has evidently written in the interest of the Catholics but there is no evidence to show that he has not truthfully stated the case. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, of London, certainly had no special interest in the subject beyond establishing the truth. Therefore, since the Orangemen claim for “Protestant Ascendancy,” wherever they as Protestants are in the majority, the existence of a higher grade of morals and general superiority, it is evident, from the testimony produced, that religion is used by them merely as a cloak, as I have already stated, while the claim of excellency is simply made in the spirit of the Pharisee. The treatment of this subject is only admissible from a religious standpoint. It is easy to show that the influence of religion has been wanting where the greatest claims have been made for its presence; otherwise the absurd supposition must be maintained, namely, that Orangemen are less moral and have a larger proportion of illegitimate children owing to the influence of a purer Christian belief.

"While England lives and flourishes, Ireland must die a daily death and suffer an endless martyrdom."

John Mitchel

CHAPTER XIX

FAMINES OF IRELAND—CONSEQUENT SUFFERING—RESULTS DUE TO MISGOVERNMENT AND INDIFFERENCE ON THE PART OF THE ENGLISH AUTHORITIES—UNNECESSARY LOSS OF LIFE AND EMIGRATION—CONDITION OF WORKHOUSES IN IRELAND

WE have considered the famines in Ireland which occurred when the land could not be cultivated after the efforts of England to exterminate the Irish people by means of the sword. We now wish to study the unnecessary famines from which Ireland has suffered, all of which it is claimed could have been mitigated by a Government whose officials possessed the slightest interest in the welfare of the people.

In 1725, 1726, 1727 and 1728 Ireland suffered from a failure, to a great extent, of the crops and in 1739 from heavy frosts, which could not have been guarded against, and in 1822 there was much suffering; but we will not enter into details of these or other years of want but pass to what is generally known as the "Great Famine" which forced the people to emigrate.

During the past century not five years have passed at any time without the announcement of a threatened famine in Ireland. Scarcely a year has gone by within this period that the people of Ireland have not been in want, in some portion of the country, from an inadequate supply of food. But strictly at no time, so far as the writer is informed, has a famine existed from a total failure of the Irish crops and each year there has been raised in some section of the country more than would have been adequate for the needs of the

people elsewhere. The local scarcity is due to the fact that everything save a portion of the potato crop, on which the greater part of the people are forced to subsist, is taken out of the country to England to pay the rent to the absentee landlord, to obtain supplies for England's profit and to meet the excessive rate of taxes levied by the Government. As the produce of the country must always be promptly used to meet the forced obligations due for rent, etc., the producer can never receive full market value and England consequently gains a double profit. Russia has promptly stopped the export of wheat, so soon as it was ascertained that the crop was not sufficient for the want of all her people; this was done notwithstanding a great profit could have been gained. But for her determined and selfish course towards Ireland, England would find some means promptly to check this death-producing depletion, as she has on other occasions when it was necessary to protect her own people.

But, since England receives all the profits and is a gainer to the full of Ireland's loss, the matter will continue to remain one of indifference to the British Government unless the contempt and public opinion of the world at large may ultimately force her to take just action.

The population of Ireland in 1841 was about 8,796,545 persons but after several years of famine in 1851 it had decreased to 6,551,970, *leaving 2,244,575 persons to be accounted for without, in addition, taking into consideration the natural increase of the population during these ten years.*

John Mitchel states ¹:

“ Now that a million and a half of men, women and children were carefully, prudently and peacefully *slain* by the English Government. They died of hunger in the midst of abundance, which their own hands created; and it is quite immaterial to distinguish those who perished in the agonies of famine itself from those who died of typhus fever, which in Ireland is always caused by famine.

¹ *The History of Ireland, etc., a Continuation of the History of the Abbe MacGeoghegan*, by John Mitchel, New York, 1892, p. 596.

“Further, this was strictly an artificial famine—that is to say, it was a famine which desolated a rich and fertile island, that produced every year abundance and superabundance to sustain all her people and many more. The English, indeed, call that famine a dispensation of Providence and ascribe it entirely to the blight of the potatoes. But potatoes failed in like manner all over Europe, yet there was no famine save in Ireland. The British account of the matter, then, is, first a fraud; second, a blasphemy. The Almighty indeed, sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine.

“And lastly, it has been shown, in the course of this narrative, that the depopulation of the country was not only encouraged by artificial means, namely, the Outdoor Relief Act, the Labor-rate Act, and the emigration schemes, but that extreme care and diligence were used to prevent relief coming to the doomed island from abroad; and that the benevolent contributions of Americans and other foreigners were turned aside from their desired objects—not, let us say, in order that none should be saved alive, but that no interference should be made with the principles of political economy!

“In the first year of the famine, then we find that the measures proposed by the English Government were, *first*, repeal of the Corn Laws, which depreciated Ireland’s only article of export; *second*, a new Coercion Law, to torment and transport the people; and *third*, a grant of one hundred thousand pounds to certain clerks or commissioners, chiefly for their own profit, and from which the starving people derived no benefit whatever.”

According to the printed official records, during the first year of the famine food to the value of over seventy millions of dollars was exported from Ireland and chiefly to England; yet the Government made no effort to retain in the country this food supply while the people in the immediate neighborhood were dying from starvation! This food could not be purchased or legally stopped *in transit* by any individual action, as it was the property of the landlord or was being sent abroad to meet some indebtedness of the people and only the power of the Government could have arrested the exportation.

But there was a profit for the English trader, in bringing back the same food, from the increased price due to the artificial scarcity thus caused; so the Government showed itself utterly indifferent as to how many died from want among those who were without the means to pay the famine prices.

Mr. Mitchel states ¹:

“And still fleets of ships were sailing every tide, carrying Irish cattle and corn to England. There was also a large importation of grain from England into Ireland, especially of Indian corn; and the speculators and ship-owners had a good time. . . . Two facts, however, are essential to be borne in mind—*first*, that the net result of this importation, exportation and re-importation—(though many a ship-load was carried four times across the Irish Sea, as prices ‘invited’ it)—was, that England finally received the harvests to the same amount as before; and *second*, that she gave Ireland—under free trade in corn—less for it than ever. In other words, it took more of the Irish produce to buy a piece of cloth from a Leeds manufacturer, or to buy a rent receipt from an absentee proprietor.”

“In the same number the *Nation* took the pains to collect and present statistics by which it appeared that *every day*, one day with another, twenty large steamships, not counting sailing vessels, left Ireland for England, all laden with that abundant harvest—for which the English, indeed, might well give thanks.” ²

“The American corn was only so much given as a handsome present to the merchants and speculators. That is, the English got it.” ³

“For example, the vast supplies of food purchased by the ‘British Relief Association,’ with the money of charitable Christians in England, were everywhere locked up in Government stores. Government, it seems, contrived to influence or control the managers of that fund; and thus, there were thousands of tons of food rotting within the stores of Haulbowline, at Cork Harbor; and tens of thousands rotting without. For the market must be followed, not led—(to the prejudice of Liverpool merchants!)—private speculation must not be disappointed nor the calculations of political circles falsified!

¹ *The History of Ireland*, etc., p. 260.

² *Ibid.*, p. 570.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 567.

“ All the nations of the earth might be defied to feed or relieve Ireland beset by such a Government as this. America tried another plan. The ship *Jamestown* sailed into Cork Harbor, and discharged a large cargo, which actually began to come into consumption; when lo! Free Trade—another familiar demon of Government—Free Trade, that carries off our harvests of the year before—comes in, freights another ship, and carries off from Cork to Liverpool, a cargo *against* the American cargo! ”

The great famine began in 1846. The following is from a reliable authority¹:

“ It is now upon record, that the people perished in great numbers before public relief, or indeed sympathy, came to their aid. . . . The English people were rich, and the coffers of the Treasury were full, and yet a *million* of the Irish people died of want, and another *million* were driven by the iron hand of oppression to seek refuge in foreign lands. What were the means taken by the British Government to meet or palliate this dread calamity, caused as much by that vicious system that regulated the connection between the countries, as the failure of the potato crop, which was only one of the effects produced by it. After delays innumerable, and that the finger of shame had been pointed at the English Minister, Lord John Russell came forward and contracted a loan of *eight millions*, which was to have been expended in relieving the Irish people. The great majority of the English Metropolitan Press unfeelingly and inconsiderately inveighed against the raising of money for such purpose, and of thus taxing ‘ the industrious hard-working English tradesmen to support in idleness a lazy people! ’

“ Every one who read these articles would have supposed that this was to have been a free gift to Ireland in the hour of her calamity; but what was the fact? Although that country contributed to the expense of raising it as well as England, it was expended principally on the retainers of the Government, and the starving people got but a small proportion of it;—that it was not granted as a gift but as a loan, *and that Ireland was made solely liable for its liquidation!* ”

¹ *The Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland*, by Anthony Marmion, London, 1855, pp. 55, 56.

This statement is verified by Mr. O'Connor¹:

“But this was not from the want of a sufficiently large staff. There were no less than 10,000 officials; and these appointments were given from the most corrupt motives. This example of corruption at the top had a good deal to do with the disastrous and universal spirit of corruption below. And the most heart-rending feature of it all was that all this machinery, all this vast army of officials, all these vast sums of money, not only did no good, but were productive of an increase, instead of a diminution, of the miseries of the country. As to a large portion of the people, the relief—such as it was—came too late.² . . . The wretched people were by this time too wasted and emaciated to work. The endeavor to do so under an inclement winter sky only hastened death. They tottered at daybreak to the roll-call, vainly tried to wheel the barrow, or ply the pick, but fainted away on the cutting or lay down by the wayside to rise no more.”

Mr. O'Connor quotes from the work of Rev. J. O'Rourke³:

“Hapless wretches, often with wives and several children dying of hunger at home—sometimes with the wife or one of the children already a putrid corpse, crawled to their work in the morning, there drudged as best they could, and at the end of the day often had as their wages the sum of five pence—sometimes it went as low as three pence. To earn this sum, too, it often happened that the starving man had to walk three, four, five, eight Irish miles to, and the same distance from, his work. Finally, owing to blunders, he was frequently unable even to get his pittance at the end of the week or fortnight; and then he returned to his cabin to die—unless, as often happened, he died on the wayside.

“Even when he was paid, the meal-shop was miles away—for the retail trade, with which the Government would not interfere, existed only in Government imagination; and meal-shops were only to be found at long intervals. Or, if he reached the meal-shop,

¹ P. 36.

² *New Ireland: Political Sketches and Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years of Irish Public Life*, by A. M. Sullivan, Glasgow, 1877, p. 64.

³ *History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847*, p. 258.

Government measures again had raised the price of meal beyond the reach of relief work wages; and if he knocked at the doors of Government depots, a harsh and alien voice replied that in the name of political economy he should die."

It is held by different authorities that the aid the English Government undertook to dole out at this period through agents in Ireland went very much by favor. The writer believes the charge to be true on the information he obtained in this country shortly thereafter from different emigrants who were strangers to each other though all had gone through the same horrors of the famine. Moreover there can be but little doubt that the Catholic portion of the population never received the benefit from the food that even the British Government, after being forced by public opinion to act, intended should be fairly distributed. The varied information received by the writer agreed in one respect, that when a Protestant family was found in want, or its members were stricken with fever, all would, as a rule, be carefully cared for and the sick generally allowed to remain in their homes where they were properly nursed. But Catholics, especially in the out-of-the-way districts, were either entirely neglected, left to starve and even lie unburied or they were crowded into the almshouses and so-called hospitals and their shanties always burned or pulled down as soon as they were emptied. Those sent to the over-crowded temporary hospitals were certain to die from want of proper food and proper care. The sick seldom received any systematic attention except from the over-worked district physician, who was generally a Protestant, or from the Catholic clergyman; both of these often fell victims to the same disease and died in turn with as little attention from the other officials whose chief care was to keep out of danger and to *profit* as a "friend of the Government."

Those who were sent to the almshouses and were retained there until they were free from fever were, as we have stated,

seldom properly fed and were often starved. The men and children received no favor and the females often had no means of escaping starvation but by yielding to the lust of the brutes in charge; these unfortunate women were not always given even this choice.

The Irish Registrar-General Reports frequently show that in some of the poor-law Unions every illegitimate child was from the workhouses.

We have already given quotations from the *Pall Mall Gazette* bearing indirectly on this subject, which were cited by Mr. Fox in his work. In addition he states¹:

“Except in parts of Antrim, where on the showing of the Irish Registrar-General and collated by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Orangeism and bastardy go together, you can pick out the workhouses by glancing down the columns and taking the largest figures. As teachers of immorality, workhouses are a curse to Ireland. Poor women and girls, when forced by direct poverty to enter within their walls, are obliged by law to associate with the lowest of their sex who are to be found there.

“Hence, when the Irish peasant is evicted, and has no alternative but the workhouse, apprehensions of moral ruin often goad him to fury, when he looks into the innocent faces of his little ones. The tempter appears to him in the eyes of an avenger, and he, weakly yielding, forthwith agrees to slay his oppressor. The *Times* (London) recognized this fact long ago, since, in 1850, it declared a ‘judgment of eviction’ to be a ‘judgment of death,’ the tenant’s only alternative being the workhouse or the grave.”

Mr. John E. Redmond, in a speech delivered at Cavan, Ireland, on November 24, 1907, and as reported in the *Dublin Freeman’s Journal*, said:

“I desire to speak upon one of those products of British rule which was conferred upon Ireland against the united wish of the whole people, and which to-day in its extravagance, in its inefficiency, and its demoralization is, taken alone, a conclusive condemnation of British rule and an unanswerable argument in

¹ P. 76.

favor of National self-government. I know no more pressing need in Ireland to-day than the reform of our Poor Law system. I know of no reform upon which all classes and creeds in Ireland are more united. Let me tell you briefly—and the story is an extraordinary and dramatic one—let me tell you briefly the history of this cursed workhouse system which was forced upon Ireland.

“I said that system was extravagant and inefficient and demoralizing. The cost is enormous.

“The last figures we have show that the cost was [in American money] \$6,242,480, or, in other words, at the rate of \$1.41 per head of the whole population. There are in the thirty-two counties of Ireland one hundred and fifty-nine workhouses, and there are inmates of all kinds and descriptions, and of the vast sum of money which I have mentioned, it is estimated that out of every pound spent on the Poor Law system in Ireland ten shillings goes in salaries and wages to officials, and only ten shillings out of every pound finds its way to the poor.

“Now, within these workhouses all sorts and kinds of inmates were crowded together under the same roof, the sick, the aged and infirm, children, the helpless mothers of young children, the insane, the casuals and tramps and other able-bodied paupers, all crowded together more or less with the hateful stigma of the poorhouse pauper. So far as the larger number of those inmates are concerned that is a horrible outrage. By far the larger number are the sick, the aged and infirm, and the children, on all of whom I say it is an outrage and a disgrace to our civilization that any taint of the workhouse should be put, and of the whole number of 45,195 in 1905 there were only 4667 who might be described as casuals or tramps or able-bodied paupers, whose admission was due to destitution or to such idleness and laziness as led to destitution.

“Therefore, only between a ninth and a tenth of all the inmates of these workhouses come from classes similar to those for whom the workhouse system was first founded in England, and I say it is an outrage and a disgrace that the stigma which rightly attaches to one-ninth or one-tenth of the inmates should be extended to the sick poor, to the aged and infirm, and to the innocent children who are herded into these institutions.

“We know that the poor Irishmen and women would almost

sooner die of starvation or of disease than go into the Irish workhouses. It is extravagant, it is demoralizing and it is hated by the people.

“Now, this workhouse system was invented in England and for England. It was devised to meet cases where there was plenty of employment to be got, but where the people would not work. The British Royal Commission of 1834 declared that the pauperism with which the British Poor Law had to deal originated in indolence, improvidence, vice and a refusal to work. But Ireland's case has been quite different. In Ireland the problem is this—that the people are willing to work, aye, in the old days for a penny or twopence a day, but no work could be got for them. This British system, unsuitable to Ireland, has been at work in Ireland since 1838. Its failure is admitted to-day by all classes and creeds in this country, and before I allude to the remedies which are suggested for this grievance, let me ask the question, How came this system to be forced upon Ireland at all?

“Now, Ireland had no responsibility for it. Ireland opposed it at the time by every means in her power; all classes, all politics, all creeds united in saying that they would not have the British workhouse system. O'Connell and Castlereagh joined hands for the first and last time on any Irish question in opposing the introduction of the British workhouse system into Ireland. It was forced on us; it is the product of British rule. There was published the other day the report of a small Viceregal Commission, presided over by Mr. Micks, which inquired into the present state of this workhouse system, and they have issued a report not only interesting, but, from a historical and national point of view, most valuable.

“Here is the story. I quote it as an unanswerable argument against British rule and in favor of Home Rule. In 1833 an Irish Royal Commission was appointed to consider whether the British system should be extended to Ireland or not. That Commission consisted of ten representative Irishmen, representing all classes and creeds. The Catholic and the Protestant Archbishops of Dublin were both members of the Commission. The chairman of the Commission was the Most Rev. Dr. Whately, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. Now that Commission sat for three years.

“ It reported unanimously that the British workhouse system was quite unsuitable to Ireland, and that the laboring classes in this country were eager for work, but that no work could be had for them, and that in their judgment decent poor people in Ireland would endure untold misery sooner than go into these workhouses if they were forced upon the country.

“ And in place of the British system they made two recommendations for dealing with the poverty of Ireland. The first was the setting on foot of various schemes to develop the industrial resources of the country and to create employment for the people. The second was a compulsory provision for the sick poor, aged and infirm, and for all the different classes in separate institutions in different parts of the country.

“ Their recommendations about the development of the resources of Ireland were, in the light of the history of the last seventy years, most extraordinary. Speaking of this recommendation, the recent commission of Mr. Micks says: ‘ The Report of 1836, made just seventy years ago, must be read with great surprise when one carefully notes the recommendations made then, and at the same time observes how almost all the suggestions were, as time passed on, unconsciously acted upon. This shows how well and truly the commissioners understood the requirements of the country. It will probably surprise most of those who study the condition of Ireland, and who have considered how to improve it, to find that a commission that sat seventy years ago recommended land-drainage and reclamation on modern lines, the provision of laborers’ cottages and allotments, the bringing of agricultural instruction to the doors of the peasant, the improvement of land tenure, the transfer of fiscal powers from Grand Juries to County Boards, the employment of direct labor on roads by such County Boards, the sending of vagrants to Colonies to be employed there or to penitentiaries in this country; the closing of public houses on Sundays, and the prevention of sale of groceries and intoxicating drink in the same house for consumption on the premises.’

“ Now, these were the recommendations of this Irish Commission seventy years ago. Many of them, after years—I might say, after generations—of struggle, of sacrifice, and all the consequent ills to Ireland—many of them have slowly and gradually

been carried into effect. Many of them still remain waiting to be put in force. All of them were put forward unanimously by a representative Irish body seventy years ago, and all of them were overruled by the ignorance and prejudice of the British Parliament. Could there, I ask, be a more striking and dramatic proof of the incapacity of the British Parliament to govern this country, and of the fact that the people of Ireland themselves are the only people who know their own needs and can wisely govern their own affairs?"

Mr. A. M. Sullivan, a Catholic authority, who was a resident of the famine district throughout the prevalence of the scourge and took an active part in caring for the afflicted, gives testimony which must be accepted as reliable. In reference to the landlords he writes¹:

"The conduct of the Irish landlords throughout the famine period has been variously described, and has been, I believe, generally condemned. I consider the censure visited on them too sweeping. I hold it to be in some respects cruelly unjust. On many of them no blame too heavy could possibly fall. A large number were permanent absentees; their ranks were swelled by several who early fled the post of duty at home—cowardly and selfish deserters of a brave and faithful people. Of those who remained some may have grown callous; it is impossible to contest authentic instances of brutal heartlessness here and there. But granting all that has to be entered on the dark debtor side, the overwhelming balance is the other way. The bulk of the resident Irish landlords manfully did their best in that dread hour. If they did too little compared with what the landlord class in England would have done in a similar case, it was because little was in their power. The famine found most of the resident landed gentry of Ireland on the brink of ruin. They were inheritors of estates heavily overweighed with the debts of bygone generations. Broad lands and lordly mansions were held by them on settlements and conditions that allowed small scope for the exercise of individual liberality. To these land owners the failure of one year's rental receipt meant mortgage, foreclosure

¹ *New Ireland*, etc., p. 63.

and hopeless ruin. Yet cases might be named by the score in which such men scorned to avert by pressure on their suffering tenantry the fate they saw impending over them. They 'went down with the ship.' "

Mr. O'Connor writes¹:

"I have sufficiently debated already the measures which were taken by the English Ministers to meet the calamity. . . . Most persons will hold that a civilized, highly organized and extremely wealthy government ought to be able to meet such a crisis as the Irish Famine so effectually as to prevent the loss of one single life by hunger. I have already alluded to the language in which some Irish writers are accustomed to speak of the actions and intentions of the government. Their theory is that the terrors and horrors of the Famine were the result of a deliberate conspiracy to murder wholesale an inconvenient, troublesome, and hostile nation. Such a theory may be promptly rejected, and yet leave a heavy load of guilt on the Ministers. In political affairs we have to look not so much to the intention as to the results of policies; and it is undeniable that in 1846 and 1847 there were as many deaths as if the deliberate and wholesale murder of the Irish people had been the motive of English statesmanship. Statesmen, I say, must be judged by the result of their policy. The policy which created the Famine was the land legislation of the British Parliament. The refusal of the British Legislature to interfere with rack-rents; the refusal to protect the improvements of the tenants; the facilities and inducements to wholesale eviction—these were the things that produced the Famine of 1846; and such legislation, again, was the result of the Government of Ireland by a Legislature independent of Irish votes, Irish constituencies, Irish opinion.

"But what testimony could be so overwhelming, so tragic, in favor of Repeal of the Union as the Irish Famine, with all its attendant horrors of plague, emigration, eviction? And so the hatred of England for Ireland was hideously unjust. On the other hand, it is easy to understand how the Irish should have been embittered to frenzy when they saw the dominant nation,

¹ Pp. 77, 78.

that claimed and had carried its superior right to govern, so performing its functions of Government that roads throughout Ireland were impassable with the gaunt forms of the starving, or the corpses of the starved, and that every ship was freighted with thousands fleeing from their homes. To this day the traveller in America will meet Irishmen who were evicted from Ireland in the great clearances of the Famine time; there is a strange glitter in their eyes, and a savage coldness in their voice as they speak of these things, and their bitterness is as fresh as if the wrong were but of yesterday. It was these clearances, and the sight of wholesale starvation and plague, far more than racial feelings, that produced the hatred of English government which strike the impartial Americans as something like frenzy. It was the events of '46 and '47, of '48 and '49, that sowed in Irish breasts the feelings that in due time produced eager subscribers to the dynamite funds.

“And yet, I say again, while the hatred of the English institutions which produced these horrors was just, the hatred of the English people themselves was not deserved. The English people, indeed, did much to earn very different sentiments.”

Justin McCarthy wrote¹:

“Whatever might be said of the Government, no one could doubt the good will of the English people. National Relief Societies were especially formed in England. . . . It (the Famine) was far too great to be effectually encountered by subscriptions however generous.”

Mr. O'Connor continues:

“It was, then, not the English that were to blame for the horrors of the Irish Famine, excepting so far as they were responsible for their choice of representatives, and for the maintenance of English institutions in Ireland. It was the British Parliament and the British Ministers that worked the wholesale slaughter of Irishmen, and that produced the murderous hatred of so many of the Irish race for England. In other words, *the Act of Union is the great criminal*. It is the government of Ireland by Englishmen and by English opinion that has the double result of ruining Ire-

¹ *History of Our Own Times*, etc., by Justin McCarthy, M.P., vol. ii., p. 125.

land and endangering England—of producing much undeserved and preventable suffering to Irishmen, and much undeserved and preventable trouble and hatred of England.¹

“It is certain that to-day Ireland is the saddest country in this world of many countries and tears. With the Famine joy died in Ireland; the day of its resurrection has not yet come.

“One word finally. The population of Ireland by March 30, 1851, at the same ratio of increase as held in England and Wales, should have been 9,018,799—it was 6,552,285. It was the calculation of the Census Commissioners² that the deficit, independently of the emigration, represented by the mortality in the five Famine years, was 985,366, nearly a million of people.³ The greater proportion of this million of deaths must be set down to hunger and the epidemic which hunger generated. To those who died at home must be added the large number of people who embarked on vessels or landed in America or elsewhere with frames weakened by the Famine or diseases resulting from the Famine, and perished in the manner already described. Father O'Rourke,⁴ calculating these at seventeen per cent. of the emigration of 1,180,409 arrives at the total of 200,668 persons who died either on the voyage from their country or on their arrival at their destination. This would raise the total of deaths caused through the Irish Famine to upwards of a million people.”

The exact number of deaths which occurred in Ireland from fever, cholera, smallpox, dysentery, scurvy, and other causes due directly or indirectly to the Famine can never be known, as in the bogs and out-of-the-way places were found, years after, the remains of many of those who had died alone or hidden away and of whose deaths the authorities had no record. In the total of horrors visited upon the Irish people but little reference was made to the great number of persons who were left completely blind so that no country in the world probably had so great a number as was in Ireland after this period. Many cases of blindness were attributed to ophthalmia and doubtless many of these were due to want of cleanliness and care; but by far the greater

¹ P. 84.

² *Census Commissioners' Report*, 1851, p. 245.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁴ *History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847*, by Rev. J. O'Rourke.

number resulted from another cause which was not recognized in the confusion of cause and effect. The human system becomes so reduced during the progress of typhus fever that in consequence of a want of vitality ulceration of the cornea, or the clear portion of the eye over the pupil, was a very frequent occurrence in the experience of the writer at that time among those who were treated by him for typhus or ship-fever and, when prompt means were not taken to arrest its progress, total blindness was inevitable from the opacity or scar formed in case of recovery. This condition of the eyes, probably, was often mistaken for ophthalmia. The writer has been unable to obtain any statement as to the total number of persons who were rendered blind from disease thus contracted during the Famine. The Census Commissioners' Report states that from 13,812 cases, in 1849, the number increased to 45,947 cases of blindness in 1851 but no information is given as to the number previous to or during the intervening years. However, the actual number if known would be appalling, in view of the extensive and hopeless misery and actual want which must have afflicted each individual.

The writer was in the employ of the Commissioners of Immigration from the early portion of 1850 to the autumn of 1854, as Resident and afterwards Visiting Physician to the Emigrant Refuge Hospital, Ward's Island, New York Harbor. At the same time he was in close relation with the physicians connected with the Quarantine Hospital on Staten Island, many of whom were familiar with the service previous to 1847. As a result of observation and from information received from others, he is impressed with the belief that the proportion of deaths among the immigrants who fled from the famine in Ireland was for several years nearer thirty than seventeen per cent., as just stated.

It is possible to obtain the statistics relating to the immigrants who landed in New York; but not elsewhere in the United States with certainty. It is believed that the statistics bearing on the immigration to Canada were pre-

served with care but the writer has not been able to procure them. The following, however, will give some idea of the mortality: In 1847 the total number of emigrants leaving Ireland for Canada was 89,783 persons. The Chief Secretary for Ireland stated in a report that of these emigrants 6100 died at sea; 4100 on their arrival; 5200 shortly after in hospitals; and 1900 within a short time in different towns where possibly some of their friends resided; making a total of 17,300 deaths or $19\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

If the same system existed as was followed by the Commissioners of Immigration in New York each death could be traced, as the Commission was responsible for the welfare of each immigrant for five years after arrival.

No one has taken into consideration the great loss of life which occurred among these early immigrants from tuberculosis or, as it is commonly termed, consumption; a disease which afflicted these people within a few months after their arrival, before their impaired vitality could have been greatly improved and while they were yet in the depressed condition naturally attending the uncertainty of success in their new surroundings. The writer can clearly recall the fact that an unduly large number of consumptive cases, especially among the men, were under treatment in the wards of the Immigrant Hospital.

It was part of his duty at one time to conduct all the post-mortem examinations, as it was necessary to study the pathological condition of those who died from ship-fever, cholera and other diseases with which the physicians of the country were not then familiar.

On an experience based upon at least one thousand examinations, made personally or under the supervision of the writer, it can be stated that scarcely an individual was found without evidence of disease in the lungs. Either the individual had recovered, leaving a scar as the lung had healed, or the tuberculous deposit in the lung known as consumption was found in different stages of softening; this action having been temporarily arrested by the acute disease which

had caused death. In consequence of this experience the writer feels justified in claiming that fully thirty per cent. of those who were forced to leave Ireland after the Famine died in consequence thereof, within a year or two.

No one has faithfully described the suffering among the Irish immigrants, at this period, during their voyage across the Atlantic and especially among the women, many of whom had been in good circumstances previous to the Famine. There was no mitigation of the suffering of the people until definite action was taken by the United States Government to regulate the number of passengers in proportion to a certain number of square feet of deck room for each individual and until the passage of a law forcing the owners of the vessels to furnish food and to adopt a number of sanitary measures. Previous to this law the suffering endured was greater than on any slave-ship and the death-rate was larger than it would have been from any pestilence on shore. In the beginning, there was no limit to the number of passengers received to satisfy the greed of the ship-owner, so long as deck-room could be found; and all were expected to supply their own provisions. All, as a rule, were in the prime of life but there were very few whose vitality had not been already seriously impaired by the Famine before sailing. Through ignorance and often from want of means, the supply of provisions laid in for the voyage was deficient in quantity and lacking in quality. The result was that in a few weeks, if typhus fever had not been contracted before sailing, the supply of food would become exhausted before even half the voyage had been accomplished. For the remainder of the voyage a very limited quantity from the ship's stores would be doled out with a grudging hand. The article generally furnished was meal, from ground Indian corn, which was always more or less damaged and, with inadequate if not absence of facility for cooking, together with a scanty supply even of good water, the victims soon suffered from dysentery as a preparatory stage for typhus, a disease also known as "ship-fever." With persistent sea-

sickness, the herding together of the sexes as so many cattle, with no privacy nor means for making any attempt at cleanliness of either person or surroundings, it naturally followed that gradually the immunities of civilized life were lost; so, long before reaching port, the hopeless condition of the survivors became one of extreme imbecility of both mind and body.

The early emigrant ship was not always sea-worthy and generally could be used in no other trade. Through the penurious practice of the owners they were never properly equipped and always short-handed and relied upon such aid as the male passenger might give. Consequently these vessels were frequently from 150 to 160 days making the voyage and often after sighting land they would be driven back by adverse winds nearly across the Atlantic again. No emigrant ship then carried a physician and there was no help for those who were stricken down with fever; all were too sick or indifferent to give much care to others. The mortality, therefore, was great and the writer can recall hearing of several instances where one-half of the passengers had died and been thrown overboard before the voyage was concluded. The most pitiful circumstance and one that happened not infrequently was the death of all the adults of a family, leaving a child too young even to know its name. As young children did not seem to suffer much from fever, many instances occurred where every other member of a family died on the voyage and the child remaining could never be identified.

It was not in the line of duty of the writer to board on arrival an Irish ship but the fever wards were under his care and it was his duty to take charge of these cases as soon as they could be carried to the Hospital. It was seldom that any passengers, male or female, on these early ships could obtain privacy enough to change their undergarments from the beginning to the end of the voyage and gradually they grew sick and indifferent and would be brought ashore weeks afterward unconscious from the fever,

starved and in a grievously filthy condition. From the boarding officers the writer has received most graphic accounts of the conditions found. Often for a month or more before the arrival of an immigrant ship the suffering was great from want of a sufficient supply of food and fresh water, as has been said; consequently at the time of coming into port the proportion of sick immigrants and sailors would be greater than at any other time during the voyage. Generally on arrival all remained below in a helpless condition, as many had been for days without the slightest care. On opening all the hatches the health officer was frequently compelled to have the fire-engine pump started that, by means of a stream of water, the deadly atmosphere between decks, like that in a coal pit, might be sufficiently purified to render comparatively safe the undertaking of moving those below.

In the foulest stench that can be conceived of, as soon as the eyes had become accustomed to the darkness prevailing everywhere but under the open hatch, a mass of humanity, men, women and children, would be seen lying over each other about the floor, often half naked, many covered with sores and all with filth and vermin to an incredible degree; the greater portion stupefied or in a delirious condition from typhus or putrid fever, cholera, and smallpox; all were helpless and among them were often found bodies of the dead in a more or less advanced stage of decomposition.

Such a sight would surely prompt any being, above the brute, to call aloud to the Great God for vengeance upon those who rendered possible in any country a condition so destructive of life that the people in their flight would prefer even such an alternative as this!

No Prime Minister of England did his duty in meeting this frightful crisis in Ireland. Moreover, the charge of neglect of duty as well as of vindictiveness against the suffering people in Ireland at that period still stands unrefuted. Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell were the most indifferent. These Prime Ministers in turn, one at the head

of the Whig and the other of the Tory party, through the aid of their supporters in Parliament, occupied their time with the perfecting and the issue of Coercion Acts, together with the Ecclesiastical Titles bill, against "Papal usurpation," etc. Consequently little thought was given to the famine in Ireland or to the exportation of food from the country. *Had the exportation to England been stopped all suffering would have ceased, for the supply, as already shown, was in quantity fully ten times more than sufficient to have prevented every death from starvation and to have saved the lives of nearly one million of people!* By English influence religious strife was incited throughout the country for political purposes, at a time when Christian charity at least should have interposed every attribute for the protection of a people *in extremis*. Yet, arms were deposited at certain central points, if not, as the Irish claim, placed in every Lodge to arm the Orangemen, that these worthies might be prepared under any pretext to murder literally these people defenceless from the effects of starvation and its attendant diseases.

The representatives of the English Government, at a later period when charged with this in Parliament, did positively deny that arms were distributed to the Orangemen—possibly the arms were only placed within their reach. However, the statement can only be accepted as an official quibble, as the arms were placed at hand by the Government and it was intended that they should have been used by the Orangemen, if it had been possible by any provocation to force an outbreak, and this purpose divested of all sophistry was *the extermination of the Catholic portion of the Irish people*.

So intense was the feeling of hatred and intolerance at that time, roused by means of the Orange lodges, against the Catholics of Ireland, in England, and wherever the English tongue was spoken, and which was spread in the United States, as the writer recollects, under the guise of the "Know-nothing movement," that the burden of disproof

of this design of the Government must rest with the caviller, and he must show, by some new evidence, if not this, then what was intended to have been the fate of the Irish Catholics!

In all the long list of horrors which the Irish people have endured from English instigation, during the past six hundred years, nothing ever equalled the cold-blooded and brutal treatment from which the fever and famine-stricken people of Ireland suffered at this period. In accordance with Divine precept it may be the duty of the Irish people to forgive, but so long as there remains on earth an individual in sympathy with the sufferings of these poor people, England's course will not be forgotten.

The writer from his earliest childhood had been familiar with the woes of the Irish people but the impression their suffering made upon him in early manhood, from his personal knowledge, has not faded but become the more intensified after the passage of some fifty years—and so it will remain until death! How many millions are there, of Irish birth or of Irish descent, scattered over the world, who hold the same feeling of bitterness and, if not checked, will not this influence ultimately bear bitter fruit for England?

It is beyond the charity of human nature that those who know the truth should make one single allowance for the great crime which has been perpetrated against Ireland during the past three hundred years at least. No people have ever suffered greater martyrdom than the Irish Catholics, from hatred fostered by religious bigotry and from wilful neglect by England of the duty incumbent upon responsibility. Of the many millions of Irish people who have lost their lives from the sword, from starvation or from forced emigration, since England became responsible for the welfare of the country, scarcely a single life was lost which could not have been saved.

If we accept anything in Christianity we must believe in the final Judgment and that in the justice of Almighty God each shall be judged; consequently we must believe in

adequate punishment. Nations have been punished as such, even though it may seem unjust that individuals who are innocent should suffer for the crimes committed by those who constitute the Government. And on the great day of Judgment, if not before, justice will certainly be meted out and it is beyond the scope of human intellect to realize the extent of punishment which must be the portion of all who shall then be proved unjust stewards in their management of Irish affairs!

It would be inconsistent with the truth were we to attribute the piteous condition of Ireland to any other cause than that the great majority of the Irish people belong to the Catholic faith. Had the Irish been willing to cast aside, for temporal benefit, the faith which they have unflinchingly maintained for over twelve centuries, their country would have received every aid to advance prosperity which would, with their greater advantages of soil and climate, have been far greater than that attained by Scotland.¹

¹ Exception has been taken to this statement, as being one with which students of Irish history will scarcely agree in connection with "the treatment of the Irish people by the English *Romanists*, from Henry Second down to and including the reign of Mary First."

The value of an author's statement lies in its connection with its context, and there is certainly no connection here relative to the treatment of the Irish by the English Catholics. At the time of the Norman invasion of Ireland all, both Irish and English, are supposed to have been Catholics, and there was no ground for religious differences for centuries after. Before the reign of Elizabeth there was essentially no persecution of the Catholics in Ireland on religious pretext. The Anglo-Normans in Ireland were merely in quest of plunder, and while they waged a merciless warfare, as was the custom of the times, their Irish allies were no less barbarous nor expert in self-gain; nor are their descendants a discredit to them in this faculty. It has been shown elsewhere that the English had their Irish allies from the time of Henry Second until all the Catholics of Ireland were forced to band together, during the civil war in the reign of Charles, to escape extermination at the hands of the English. The most ardent Protestant will assuredly agree, upon investigation, that the enforcement of the penal laws in Ireland embodied every phase of persecution that the ingenuity of man could devise. Moreover, they could have been employed for no other purpose, namely, to force the Catholics to give up the practice of their religion for the sake of the temporal advantages offered by them as an inducement for apostasy.

The Most Rev. Dr. Hedley, Bishop of Newport, Wales, in a published sermon in reference to Ireland's consistency to the Faith, stated :

“ The Irish race have their frailties and their shortcomings, but these do not, as with other people, lead to apostasy. They live, they labor, they think, they learn like other men ; but take them as a whole, neither their heads nor hearts, neither riches nor poverty, neither learning nor simplicity, would seem to make them disloyal to their faith, as if some protection from above made dangerous weapons harmless and laid a spell on poison that it should not harm them. This privilege of Ireland, this protection, this special blessing of Heaven, is without doubt in a great measure due to the merits of the intercession of the saints of Ireland.”

My original statement is, therefore, consistent with truth, and presents the only rational deduction a student of Irish history could draw.

"When Englishmen set to work to wipe the tear out of Ireland's eye, they always buy the pocket-handkerchief at Ireland's expense."

*Col. Edward Saunderson*¹

CHAPTER XX

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR LOSS OF LIFE IN IRELAND

WE have shown that it was beyond human effort, so far as the English could exercise it, to accomplish extermination by the sword. But as pestilence and famine, the direct concomitants of wilful misrule and forced emigration, did the work year after year most effectually, the English authorities were too well satisfied with the result to interfere; by masterly inaction they have striven to "help on the good cause."

An effort to exterminate the Irish Catholics was certainly made as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth and we have shown that it was openly advocated and practised long after that time.

The Lord Deputy of Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century stated in his official report the following:

"I have often said and written, it is the famine that must consume the Irish, as our swords and other endeavors worked not that speedy effect which is expected. Hunger would be better, because a speedier weapon to employ against them than the sword."²

¹ *Colonel Saunderson, M.P.: A Memoir*, by Reginald Lucas, London, 1908 p. 110.

² The views expressed above were probably due to the failure of the plan of government formulated by Perrot a short time before, in which he amply provided for the destruction of all the people of Ireland who were found to be not in sympathy with England: "*That all Brehons, Carraghes, Bardes and*

The advantages gained from famine, as thus expressed, seem to have been as fully appreciated in the nineteenth century.

The thoughtless and ignorant will cavil or at least claim that this charge is a misrepresentation of facts. Such an issue can be met with the following questions: Is it among the probabilities that the condition which has been described, which existed in Ireland for at least two centuries and a half, could have begun in England or in Protestant Scotland without Government taking prompt action to insure against its repetition? Crops have failed in England, as they must do sometimes in every country, but did the English ever allow a single individual to starve to death in England? Did not at least half a million of human beings starve to death during a few months in Ireland not fifty years ago and hundreds nearly every year since? When fever or any epidemic has occurred in England from time to time, did the English Government in a single instance neglect to check its progress? When the necessity has occurred in the past, from partial failure of the crops in England, has the Government ever hesitated to stop the exportation of food? Has the English Government ever done so in Ireland, where there has never been a *general* famine and where, *in every instance*, more food has been exported at the time than would have been necessary to preserve the life of every individual who died from want? Is it presumable that in a single instance the English authorities were in ignorance of the real conditions existing in Ireland? On the contrary, the testimony within reach of any investigator shows that the British Government knew of the true conditions long before the people, who had not the same facility; while for many

Rymers that infect the people, Friars, Monks, Jesuites, Pardoners, Nuns and such like, that openly seeke the maintenance of Papacy, a traytorous kinde of people, the bellows to blow the coals of all mischiefe and rebellion, and fit spies of Anti-Christ, whose kingdom they greedily expect to be restored, be executed by Marshal Law, and their Favourers and Maintainers by due course of law, to be tryed and executed as in case of treason."—*Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot*, London, 1626, p. xxiv.

months beforehand the inevitable consequences were apparent if prompt action were not taken.

Finally, can a single instance be cited where the English Government ever made an effort in Ireland with as honest a purpose to afford relief as it would have shown in England under like circumstances?

Mr. O'Connor quotes from a speech made by Lord Carlisle, July 5th, 1860, at Cork¹:

“With reference to the general concerns of Ireland, I feel I am justified in speaking to you, upon the whole, in the terms of congratulation and hopefulness. Then the mud cabins of Ireland amounted in 1841, not twenty years ago, to 491,000; they have now diminished to 125,000.² The number of emigrants, which had been gradually decreasing for some years, has somewhat increased in the last and present years. . . . *They now comprise many young people of both sexes* who have been comparatively well educated, and who hope to find in a less crowded community a better market for their industry, and a more adequate demand for their natural and acquired intelligence; but I conceive *this is not a symptom*, with whatever immediate and local inconvenience it may no doubt be attended, *at which, viewed at large, we ought to repine!*”³

Mr. O'Connor states (page 45):

“Vast masses tried to make their way to America. In the year 1845, 74,969 persons emigrated from Ireland; in 1846 the number had risen to 105,955, during 1847 it rose to 215,444. No means were taken to preserve these poor people from the rapacity of ship-owners. The landlords, delighted at getting rid of them, made bargains for their conveyance wholesale and at small prices; and in those days emigrant ships were under no sanitary restrictions of any effectiveness. Thus the emigrants, already half starved and fever stricken, were pushed into berths that rivalled the cabins of Mayo, or the fever-sheds of Skibbereen. Crowded

¹ P. 130.

² He does not state what had become of the occupants.

³ Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, *Four Years of Irish History*, p. 531.

and filthy, carrying double the legal number of passengers, who were ill-fed and imperfectly clothed and having no doctor on board, the holds,' says an eye-witness, 'were like the Black Hole of Calcutta, and deaths in myriads.' "

Mr. O'Connor continues (page 131):

"A few statistics will bring clearly before the mind of the reader how the policy of expatriation was working:

"Emigration from Ireland":

1849-1860	1,551,000
1861-1870	867,000

"And another table will be still more instructive, it is the ratio of the ages of emigrants:

Under 15 years.....	15 per cent.
15 to 35 years.....	75 per cent.
Over 35 years.....	10 per cent.

"Thus it will be seen that only half the case is stated when it is said that emigration—with great assistance from hunger, plague, and eviction—within the years 1845 and 1885 has reduced the population by nearly one-half: the half that emigrated was the better, the half that remained was the worse half of the population. Seventy-five per cent. of the emigrants were between fifteen and thirty-five—the best years in the life of men or women. 'During the seven months of the year' (1863), wrote the *Times*,¹ '80,000, chiefly young men and women, have left Ireland, most of them forever. They have gone off with money in their pockets, and with strong limbs and stout hearts. *They have left behind the ailing, the weak and the aged.*'

"There is no passion like the suppressed passion of statistics; and I leave these figures to tell their own moral. Meantime, there was one force further which must be reckoned among the factors that produced the temper of Ireland at this epoch.

"The sight of a race rushing from its native land in millions

¹ Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 168.

² *The Speeches, Lectures, and Poems, etc., of the Earl of Carlisle*, pp. 178-181.

³ Quoted in *The Nation*, Oct. 24, 1863.

might, it would be thought, have touched even enemies as marking the very height of tragic suffering. But such was not the effect upon the journalism of England. As the Irish peasants left their country in curses and tears, the English newspapers seized every opportunity of mocking at their sufferings and their demands for the reform of the laws by which their misery and their enforced exile were produced. The *Times* and other English journals over and over again pointed with exultation to the probability that the Irish race would be annihilated in Ireland, and that the country would then be entirely seized by the population of the stronger country.

“ ‘If this goes on long (the emigration in 1860) as it is continuing to go on, Ireland will become very English, and the United States very Irish. When an English agriculturist takes a farm in Galway or Kerry, he will take English labourers with him.’¹

“ ‘The Irish will go (it wrote in 1863). English and Scotch settlers must be speedily got in their places for Great Britain will suffer, the British markets will go.’²

“ ‘The Celt (it wrote again in 1865) goes to yield to the Saxon. This island of one hundred and sixty harbours, with its fertile soil, with noble rivers and beautiful lakes, with fertile mines and riches of every kind, is being cleared quietly for the interest and luxury of humanity!’³

“ This extract, finally, from the leading English journal:

“ ‘Curran used to say that his countrymen made very bad subjects, but much worse rebels. The *mot* was a good one in its own day, but it has not lost its point. . . . Comparative anatomists of political societies might, by a close study of it, perhaps make a complete sketch of the social monstrosity which such a phrase would fit—a discontented, hungry, empty-bellied community, begging for alms; too idle to work, too shrewd to fight, too profoundly convinced of the dishonesty of its own members to do aught but shout and roar and threaten and beg!’⁴

“ An Irish priest, lamenting the wrongs of Ireland, was de-

¹ Quoted in *The Irishman*, May 12, 1860.

² Quoted in *The Nation*, Nov. 4, 1863.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1858.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1865. In 1866 John Bright said: “*The* (London) *Times* is the devil’s organ upon earth.”

scribed in the *Daily Telegraph* as 'a surpliced ruffian'; a Catholic Archbishop, mourning over the emigration, was described by the *Saturday Review* as regretting the departure 'of the demons of assassination and murder.'

“ ‘The Lion of St. Jarlath’s,’ said the article of the *Saturday Review*, November 28, 1863, ‘had groveled in grievous dudgeon that bucolic tastes are prevailing in Ireland.’ Archbishop John of Tuam surveys with an envious eye what, in a Churchman, it seems rather profane to style the Irish Exodus; and in a letter addressed to Mr. Gladstone . . . *he sighs over the departing demons of assassination and murder.* Like his friend Mr. Smith O’Brien, he regrets the loss of the raw materials of treason and sedition. Ireland, he says, is relapsing into a desert, tenanted by lowing herds instead of howling assassins. So complete is the rush of departing marauders, whose lives were profitably employed in shooting Protestants from behind a hedge, that silence reigns over the vast solitude in Ireland. . . . Ireland has long been seething in the flames of misrule and agitation and sedition. Ireland is boiling over, and the scum flows across the Atlantic; and the more the Archbishop and the like of him blow at the fire, the more the scum will boil over. It can be spared, and the many excellencies of the Irish people (not found among the Catholics) will only become the more excellent by the present process of defecation! The evidence is before the reader, let the judgment be a dispassionate one.”

In answer to the excessive abuse of the Irish people by the English press, and when an attempt was made in England at the eleventh hour by the charitably disposed to raise funds for the relief of those suffering from the famine, Mr. De Vere, in 1848, wrote¹:

“With the impartiality of ignorance you abuse not only proprietors and peasants, but also our clergy of both churches. The clergy of the Establishment you consider to be drones. I can assure you that these drones have been working hard for some time past, and that many a famished family is grateful to them for their exertions. . . . The objection which you have of late

¹ *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds*, etc., p. 42.

brought against the Roman Catholic priests is, that they are either Whiteboys or the instigators of Whiteboys. From this statement we, the Irish gentlemen who live at home and not at ease, must dissent. In so large a body as the Irish priesthood there must be exceptions; but if the number of priests were much larger and more nearly proportioned to the needs of their flocks, the number of Whiteboys' offences, as well as those of other kinds, would probably diminish.

“Should you be content with converting the Roman Catholic priests, you will, perhaps, do well to hold your disputation in private; for these priests are a very ‘Jesuitical’ race, and when you have propounded a question out of your little theological catechism, will give you an answer wholly different from that set down under it in print; and perhaps, instead of waiting for the next question, ask you one in turn. Should you prefer the Cromwellian method of dealing with them, I beg that it may not be in my time. I respect them for their office as well as on account of the solicitude which they feel for the welfare of their flocks, both spiritual and temporal; but I must own that I have a selfish interest in this matter likewise. I reside in the country, and am of those who think that we could not reside there with comfort, if you were madly to demolish the chief barrier which at present exists between us and anarchy.”

Mr. O'Connor writes (page 133):

“Such, then, was the condition of Ireland in the interval between 1855 and 1865. It is one of the saddest and most dreadful stories in all history. It is the spectacle, under the semblance of law, and without any particular noise, and certainly without attracting any particular attention, of an ancient and brave nation being slowly but surely wiped out of existence. Not a section, or a class, or a percentage, but the whole people were being swept away, their land was yearly becoming more desolate, and all the probabilities pointed to the near advent of the period when the country would be one great sheep and cattle farm, with the vast desert broken only at long intervals by the herd.

“‘In a few years more,’ says the London *Times*, ‘a Celtic Irishman will be as rare in Connemara as is the red Indian on the shores of Manhattan,’ so quoted Mr. A. W. Sullivan.”

Mr. O'Connor adds:

“ Meantime the Imperial Parliament looked on and did nothing; the rulers declared that hellish work was good; the press of the dominant country hissed out triumphant hate; and the popular representation had fallen into the hands of self-seekers, heartless, lying and base. It is in such periods that a desperate spirit is evoked and is necessary. The masses of the people were still sound, and there were among the population chosen spirits who were resolved to show that the struggle, which had been maintained through so many centuries, was not even yet at an end; that, if the Irish nation were to be murdered, at least her people would try to make one final and desperate stand; and that her political life would find other types than the pestilent race of Robagas.”¹

For the past forty years or more emigration has gone on from Ireland unchecked until within a recent period. The Chief Secretary of Ireland stated in the House of Commons, May 20, 1901, that the population of Ireland, ascertained by the recent census, was 4,456,546, a decrease of five and three-tenths per cent. since the last enumeration ten years previous. It was also stated that for the first time the population of Scotland was found to be greater than Ireland; fifty years ago that of Ireland was twice as great as Scotland.

According to the census of Ireland, as published by the Government, the population was, in

1851.....	6,574,271	1881.....	5,174,836
1861.....	5,798,967	1891.....	4,704,750
1871.....	5,412,377	1901.....	4,356,546

Thus the population of Ireland is shown to have decreased 348,204 individuals during the previous ten years, notwithstanding the natural increase of a prolific people! During the year 1906, the number of emigrants from Ireland were 35,918—4746 more than in 1905, and the first increase in five years. Since 1851 and up to 1907, the total number

¹ Mr. O'Connor has reference to a French play by Sardou, published in 1872, as a satire on politicians who play the demagogue as a trade.

of Irish emigrants, as given by official sources, has been 4,063,933, an aggregate almost equal to the present population of the country, with an average of more than 72,000 a year!

A discrepancy exists between the report of the Irish Registrar General of Ireland for 1907 as to the number of emigrants from Ireland during the year 1906 and those just cited and which were obtained from a supposed reliable source before the official report was published. The report states, "The excess of births over deaths was 24,408; loss by emigration, 39,682"—as against 35,344 in 1906, and the total population of Ireland was estimated to be 4,377,064.

Arthur Young, a close observer and a noted authority on all pertaining to agriculture as a science, was particularly impressed with the fertile lands of Ireland. In his *Tour in Ireland*, etc. (Dublin, 1782), he estimated that if the country were fully cultivated the yield could support a population of one hundred million! and yet there are deaths from starvation in a country which has become a vast cattle range, so that from this and other causes the people are crowded into the bogs and barren "congested districts," where the land cannot yield enough for the support of five per cent. of the number estimated by Young. Doubtless his figures are excessive but no one familiar with the natural resources of Ireland would question that a population of fifty millions could be provided for under favorable circumstances. While the population of Ireland is now two-thirds less than it was one hundred years ago and has lost one-third in the past fifty years, that of England and Wales has increased from 17,927,609 to 32,525,716, according to the last census, while that of Scotland has doubled, with the disadvantage of being comparatively a barren country.

How much has the "fostering care" of the British Government done for Ireland at any time but particularly during this period?

It may be fairly claimed that during this period the chief

source of revenue for the Irish people came from her sons and daughters abroad. It is impossible to estimate the amount correctly but on good authority it is held that the servant girls of New York, Philadelphia and Boston alone have frequently sent to their friends in Ireland not less than ten millions of dollars in a year.

We have quoted from the London Press some objections made to raising money for the relief of the sufferers in Ireland during the famine, the opposition to supporting "in idleness a lazy people." We continue the subject by quoting the following¹:

"As to the imputation that the Irish were a lazy people, and wanted to live in idleness, on the industry of the English tradesmen, facts and circumstances have amply shown the foulness of the assertion."

After making reference to the success of the Irish emigrant in other countries and paying just tribute to their continued recollection of their suffering relatives at home, this writer states:

"For the last seven years" (which would be just previous to 1858), "six millions sterling have been transmitted through public channels to this country, independent of private remittance, by these 'idle vagabonds.'"

Mr. John Morley, while Chief Secretary of Ireland in 1886, in a public speech as reported in the Dublin Press, stated:

"I for one have long had a high appreciation of the great qualities of the Irish people. They are called idle, restless, discontented. Idle? The Irish people have done the greatest part of the hard work of the world. Idle? When the Irish peasants and generations of Irish peasants have reclaimed the land, the harsh, thankless land of the bog and the mountain side; have reclaimed that land, *knowing that the fruit of their labour would be confiscated in the shape of rent.*"

¹ Marmion's *Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports*, p. 56.

"As equals we shall be her sincere friend, as anything less than her equal we shall be her bitterest enemy."

Grattan

CHAPTER XXI

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CATHOLICS IN IRELAND MAINTAINED TO THE PRESENT TIME

WE have shown that the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed not from any spirit of justice, but as a political necessity. Nearly eighty years have elapsed since the British Parliament nominally granted to six out of eight of the population of Ireland the same rights of citizenship which had been enjoyed by the Protestant minority since the beginning of the English ascendancy. But, we shall show that only the letter of the law was observed for many years after, and the spirit of "Protestant Ascendancy" was enforced until Mr. Gladstone disestablished the "Irish State Church as established by law." Since that time the same spirit has been in evidence but not so openly exercised.

The English people at large are becoming more tolerant or indifferent but, as already stated, the English Government never changes its policy; and the same intolerant spirit, termed conservatism, is as active to-day as it was centuries ago. It is true the English people would not as a whole now permit the open persecutions of the past which endangered life but a small minority, the Orangemen, still as of old secretly direct the policy in Ireland and do so with the same lack of liberality. As these men hold office or have the needed facilities to insure a ready support directly or indirectly for themselves and friends, all effort from any source made for the prosperity of the country at large will be opposed by them to the bitter end, with the tacit support of the Government. The spirit of persecution which can-

not be fully vented at the present day is yet shown everywhere in Ireland by the exclusion of Catholics, as far as possible, from every office of position and trust. It has been shown that throughout Ireland, wherever the Catholics have been in the majority, the people have always been tolerant and that, if any preference has been shown in selection for office, it has been in favor of Protestants. Yet not an instance can be cited since the passage of the Emancipation Act, which was supposed to give equal rights to all, where a practical Catholic has ever been elected to office in the Protestant portion of Ulster or in any other section of Ireland where the Catholics were in the minority. Legally the Catholics have the same rights but they are still excluded, when possible, from serving on Grand Juries, from being magistrates and from holding other offices whenever the question of "Protestant Ascendancy" can be raised. The religious test can be the only one as, notwithstanding so long deprived by law of every educational advantage, at the present time there are in Ireland as many educated Catholics as there are of any other faith; while in some sections the average degree of acquirement would be in favor of the Catholics. Yet birth and education, with a life spent in moral rectitude, as the claim of a candidate for office would carry little weight in Ireland with the bigot as an offset to a difference in religious belief.

The English Government from time to time has apparently shown to the Catholics, nominally at least, a more conciliatory spirit than has its immediate supporters in Ireland. The term "nominally" is wittingly used, as the Government has seemed frequently to exercise a favoritism in selecting those who would best serve its purpose. While there have been some notable exceptions and some most estimable Irishmen selected as Catholics to hold office under the British Government in Ireland, there have been too many chosen who were not shining lights as Catholics and who were as little interested afterwards in the welfare of the country at large as any other English office-holder.

The writer is not in possession of any special official information to show what proportion of the office-holders are Catholics. This subject is certainly very distasteful but, as one of the grievances from which the Irish people have so long suffered, it must be discussed that the reader may know the truth. This great injustice has been ignored to such an extent even by Catholic writers, that no available or accurate information can be obtained through any other source than an occasional editorial in the public press.

The July number, 1901, of the *Nineteenth Century Magazine* contains an article, "The Romanization of Ireland," by Professor Mahaffy, of Trinity College, Dublin.

The paper is well written from false premises and the standpoint of an Orangeman, who is still unable to understand that the great Catholic majority of the people of Ireland have any rights. The prominence of the Catholic Church, the self-assertion of its members, the large number he alleges holding office and the unfitness, in his belief, of Catholics for citizenship in consequence of their faith form the chief points of grievance.

Altogether an interesting statement, to which the general answer would be—Why should not the conditions complained of naturally exist, unless impossible from bigotry and persecution as in former years?

Professor Mahaffy is not pleased with others who are outside the fold of the Disestablished Church, as he makes the statement that :

" Amid the higher classes of northern Protestants there are also tendencies favouring Roman Catholic advancement which cannot but have their fatal effect. So bitter is the jealousy with which many Dissenters regard the Irish Church, that they frequently make alliance with Roman Catholics to overcome Church influence. They have indeed felt the sting of persecution from the Irish Bishops in former days more intensely than their Catholic neighbours, for these latter were conscious of their own disloyalty to the British Crown, whereas the Dissenters had in them all the hereditary loyalty of English and Scotchmen. But as it was in

the decade from 1790, so it was, in a milder degree, in the decade of 1890—a sort of league or understanding that the once dominant creed must be stripped of every vestige of its old position in the country.”

The writer evidently does not appreciate the justice of retribution. He concludes:

“The historian will not turn aside to dispense praise or blame in reviewing these facts. It is least of all his duty to blame the Roman Catholic policy, which by steady political pressure, accentuated by occasional rebellions and frequent violations of order or of imposed law, has converted a once oppressed and long unforgiving majority into the almost dominant power. The spread of democratic reform made this change not only easy but inevitable. Put the voting power into the hands of Catholics guided by their clergy, and who can blame them if they use these votes to wrest political and social power from their former oppressors? Only a bigot would be satisfied with the retort that all injustices under which Catholics laboured are long abolished. The memory of them is not abolished. The social distinctions they created are not abolished; and the majority is one, not of Stoic philosophers, but of men and women full of passion and prejudice. No just man can say they are to blame except in mistaking the interests of Rome for the interests of Ireland.

“The Irish Roman Catholic peasantry, and even the classes superior to them, are indeed above the corresponding classes in England in general intelligence, in social charm, in quick sympathy, in cheerfulness and versatility under difficulties. But *they are inferior in honesty, in diligence, in lawfulness, in sturdiness.* It is only by means of these latter qualities that local self-government can ever be successful. To grant privileges in the expectation that they will create the necessary virtues which deserve them, is getting the cart before the horse. It is, indeed, not certain whether a long and gradual system of education in politics will ever turn the Roman Catholic Irishman, when he has the whole field to himself, into a law-loving, thrifty citizen. Even on the new soil of America, while the Protestant emigrants from the North have proved a great accession of strength to the

United States, the Roman Catholic emigrants, crowding together in the cities, have been a source of grave political disorder. The possession of ample privileges *there* has not yet cured them of their defects."

Millions of Irishmen have emigrated to the American continent during the past three centuries and as exemplary citizens they have contributed mentally and physically more than any other race to the development of their adopted country; and this fact, now well-established, proves also that, where an exception has occurred, it was due neither to nationality of section nor its creed. One is to be sincerely pitied whose mental faculties are so blunted by bigotry that for him the impious charge is possible against any Christian belief that it contains the inevitable tendency to lower the moral status of even a single individual much less that of a whole people. To those who have the light, Protestant or Catholic, it will be evident that cause of failure is not due to the doctrine but to neglect of precept.

This article was answered in the following number of the *Nineteenth Century* by Mr. John F. Taylor, K.C., a Protestant barrister of Dublin, under the following title: "Down-Trodden Irish Protestants, an Appendix to Mr. Mahaffy's Paper in the July number of this Review." The greater portion of Mr. Taylor's statement will be utilized for showing that the Catholics are not the office-holders in Ireland. He states:

"The census just published may be taken as showing that the Catholics of Ireland are to the Protestants of Ireland considerably more than two to one; more approximately three to one.

"It is interesting to see how the country so peopled is ruled and judged. The Government of Ireland is carried on by what may be called the 'Dublin Castle Cabinet,' nominees of the Westminster Cabinet.

"The Dublin Cabinet consists of two Englishmen and four

Irishmen. All are Protestants. The Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Secretary, the Under-Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-General are all amiable and worthy men. But room for a single Papist could not be found amongst them.

“By law the Lord Lieutenant must be a Protestant, and his whole official entourage is also necessarily Protestant.

“The Commander of the Forces and the Chief Secretary need not be Protestants, but no Catholic ever yet filled either of these important and exalted offices.

“The Castle Cabinet appoints the judges.

“There are eighteen judges of the High Court. Of these, fifteen are Protestants and three Catholics. There are twenty-one County Court judges. Of these, fifteen are Protestants and six Catholics. There are seventy-two Stipendiary Magistrates. Fifty-six are Protestants and sixteen Catholics.

“The Royal Irish Constabulary is a force in which the Catholics exceed the Protestants by two to one, but of their officers this is the summary: The Inspector-General is a Protestant, thirty-two out of thirty-seven County Inspectors are Protestants, while of the two hundred District Inspectors about twenty or thirty are Catholics. The heads of the great departments are Protestants. The two most important are the Board of Works and the Local Government Board, both of which impinge on local popular administration at many points, and these two Boards are practically Primrose League Habitations with one tame Catholic in each.

“Every public office where appointments are made by nomination is crammed with Protestants.

“Only in the offices open to competition like the Customs, the Excise, the Post-office, and the other departments to which Class I. and Class II. clerks by competitive examination are appointed, can one find a certain number of Catholics. Even there the higher posts are usually filled by Protestants; for examination only ensures fair play in the first step, and ‘Preferment goes by letter and affection,’ though not to the extent common in offices where nomination obtains. Of the one hundred and seventy-three Irish peers, only fourteen (including Viscount Taaffe of Austria) are Catholics, and it is needless to say that the

whole body of representative Irish peers (twenty-eight in number) is free from all Papistical taint.

"An Irish Catholic would have as much chance of becoming Grand Lama of Thibet as of obtaining any post within the gift of the Protestant population of Belfast and the surrounding country. It is wrong, however, for Irish priests to prefer Catholic doctors for attendance on Catholic patients in Connaught and Munster. *Prima facie*, Protestants are entitled to all posts and Papist trespassers must justify their presence in the sacred preserve.

"Mr. Mahaffy points to the churches and cathedrals which Papists have the effrontery to build with their own money for the worship of God in their own way. Protestants are in no need of building. They hold the old Catholic cathedrals in Dublin, Armagh, Tuam, and other places, and no doubt Mr. Mahaffy thinks that the old Mass-houses of the eighteenth century ought to serve very well.

"But indeed Mr. Mahaffy serves a very useful purpose in showing how the minds of young Irish Catholics would be 'set' were Irish parents to send their sons to an institution (Trinity College) where there is not a single Catholic teacher and where the 'liberality of mind' is shown in the wailings over lost Protestant privileges and the determination to keep Papists in their place. Sir Samuel Ferguson has summed it all up in his ballad of the 'Loyal Orangeman.' This worthy, like Mr. Mahaffy, was a most reasonable man. All that he asked for was:

'The crown of the causeway in road and street,
And the rebelly Papishes under my feet.'

"Let us remember, that so far as popular feeling in Ireland goes, no distinction is made between Catholic and Protestant squireens. There are few Catholic squires, no doubt, as all the land was granted to Protestants after the confiscations, and for a century no Catholic could hold land in fee simple even had they the means and chance of acquiring it.

"But those who have acquired land are treated without reference to their creed. I think, indeed, that these scattered Catholic squireens are more hated, as they are surely more despised, than their Protestant *confrères*. On this point it is interesting to observe that in all the so-called treasonable poetry and songs

of Ireland there is a total absence of the sectarian note. While enlightened Ulster at the July celebration sings the edifying *Boyne Water* and *We'll Kick the Pope before us*, not one ballad offensive to Protestants can be heard in the Catholic parts of Ireland. Again, no sectarian symbol or emblem is worn by Catholics, while the Orange lily is flaunted in Sheriffs' offices in Connaught on the 12th of July as a gentle reminder to all that 'croppies' had better 'lie down!' Ulster is clothed in lilies on that day—emblems of her sweet attractiveness.

“If the power and influence of 'Romish Prelates' be the evil which Mr. Mahaffy seems to fear, the best way to perpetuate the sway of the Churchman is by continuing the exclusion of the Irish Catholic from all share in the public administration of their own country.

“Ireland will continue to be 'Romanized' so long as Rome supplies the only avenue through which an Irish peasant may, without soiling his soul, or stooping to sycophancy, enter a plebeian and emerge a prince. Rome does this for the Irish peasant. Little wonder that the free and loving homage of the Irish proletariat is given to the august See which lifts the lowest peasant's son to be the equal of a Howard or a Schwartzenberg.

“If an Irish Catholic layman is to hold his soul free he must turn his back on state office at home, as Sir Anthony McDonell, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Sir John Uppington, and D'Arcy Magee have served India, Australia, Canada, and the Cape.”

The Dublin *Freeman's Journal* thus comments on the subject:

“One is sometimes driven to the conclusion that a little less forbearance on the part of the majority would more speedily realize the condition of simple equality, which is what Catholics desire. Nor is it merely within the domain of the castle that the spirit of exclusiveness and intolerance works. Some of the banks and railways that are absolutely dependent upon Catholic support and patronage are just as intolerant. It would be as easy for a Catholic to become Viceroy as to secure any well-paid post in the gift of some of the railway boards that depend for their power on Catholic share-holders and Catholic customers. Even in trade,

where business discretion would suggest another course, the same intolerant incivism exhibits itself. There are business houses in Dublin which refuse to employ a Catholic, and yet thrive on Catholic custom. So that amiable as Catholic tolerance may be, we doubt whether equal government or true citizenship prospers by an inoffensive attitude towards boycotters. If the boycotters were met with their own weapons, prudence might quickly generate a better spirit among them."

The latest contribution to this subject is by the Very Rev. Dr. Hogan, and reprinted in the N. Y. *Irish World*, July 16, 1904:

"There was a very large attendance at the meeting of the First Divinity Hall, at the annual meeting of the Maynooth Union,' says the *Dublin Weekly Freeman*, 'when the Very Rev. Dr. Hogan read a paper on "The Attitude of Irish Protestants towards their Catholic Countrymen."'

"Dr. Hogan said: 'Protestant ascendancy has been described by Edmund Burke in a letter to his son as "nothing more nor less than the resolution of one set of people in Ireland to consider themselves as the sole citizens of the commonwealth, and to keep a dominion over the rest by reducing them to servitude; and thus fortified in their power to divide the public estate, which is the result of general contribution, as a military booty solely amongst themselves."' In another passage in the same letter he says that 'a government which has no interest to please the body of the people, and can neither support them nor with safety call for their support, nor is of power to sway the domineering faction, can only exist by corruption; and taught by that monopolizing party which usurps title and qualities of the public, to consider the body of the people as out of the Constitution, they will consider those who are in it in the light in which they choose to consider themselves. In this way the whole relation of government and of freedom will be a battle or tariff.'

"In the light of these fundamental principles it will be worth while to examine the register of the public officers in this country, and to see on what lines the public estate is divided and how the balance is struck between the Government and Irish Catholic

taxpayers. Incidentally, we may also get some insight into those professions of toleration, fair play, and liberality which abound on Protestant platforms and in the Protestant press.

“ But whilst the King must be a Protestant, what need is there that his representative in this Catholic country should be Protestant? Not only, however, must the King’s deputy be a Protestant, but when he goes to England for a holiday or for business the Lords Justices who replace him must be Protestant. Catholic judges, no matter how loyal and how distinguished, are disqualified on account of their faith. Then the Lord Lieutenant is assisted in the government of the country by a Privy Council which consists of sixty members. Of these over fifty are Protestants and only seven are Catholics. Besides the £20,000 a year which the Lord Lieutenant receives from Parliament, his household is maintained at the public expense, and he thus gets an opportunity of surrounding himself by thirty or forty gentlemen who draw salaries according to their rank and labours. From this charmed circle Catholics, as a rule, are excluded. Now and again a few are to be found, but there are not more than three or four out of thirty or forty. Nearly the same proportion is observed in the Chief Secretary’s office. The Chief Secretary, of course, himself is invariably a Protestant, and of the officials who work directly under him the proportion would be about five or six Protestants to one Catholic.

“ If you take the trouble to look into the Record Office, the State Paper Department, the office of the Treasury, Remembrancer, or Deputy Paymaster, you will find everything worth having in the hands of the dominant party.

“ In the Local Government Board, of the three principal officials, Secretary, and Law Adviser, only one is a Catholic; and in the long roll of its Inspectors, Medical Officers, Engineers, Auditors, and even Clerks, the principle of ascendancy in its most drastic form is maintained. Some years ago two of the heads of this Board and the Law Adviser were Catholics. All these except one have now been replaced by the Protestants. In the Board of Works the three heads are Protestants. The solitary Catholic, Mr. Richard O’Shaughnessy, who recently retired, has been replaced by a Protestant; and in the list of surveyors, Land Inspectors, Draughtsmen, Accountants, and so forth, the number of

Catholics can be very easily counted. In a return made to Parliament on the 4th of February last [1904], at the request of the late Mr. McGovern, the list of the officials connected with the Department of Agriculture is given, with the salaries which they receive. Some slight changes may have taken place since then; but they cannot be of much importance. Now, looking over the interesting returns, I find that at the head of the department there are five officials, with salaries ranging from £850 a year to £1350, together with other allowances, which considerably enhance the value of the position. Out of these five officials there is only one Catholic, and the appointment of that single Catholic has provoked a storm of bigotry and intolerance the like of which we have not witnessed in this country for many a day. Just think for a moment of what has happened. The majority of the Irish people sent seventy or eighty members of Parliament to represent them in the British House of Commons. Governments come and go. British parties change sides and enjoy in their turn the emoluments of office. The Irish representatives alone remain always in opposition. For them there is no personal prize to be won in the political battlefield; no reward except the welfare and liberty of their country. In pursuit of this they have adopted the line of action they believe to be most effective, the policy from which no bribe can draw them away, no offer of personal advantage can seduce them."

"Passing on, however, from the general staff to the various branches of the department, I find at the head of the Agricultural Branch three Protestant gentlemen, with salaries of £954 7s. 6d. [\$4770], £620 [\$3100], and £365 [\$1825], respectively, all provided with first-class railway and other expenses.

"At the head of the Technical Instruction Branch I find six gentlemen having salaries from £315 [\$1575] to £700 [\$3500] a year, with the usual railroad and hotel allowances. They are, I understand, all Protestants. At the head of the Fisheries Branch I find a Protestant clergyman, with a salary of £900 [\$4500] a year, with railroad fare and other expenses. This whole branch, with eight or nine officials, all well paid, seems to be an almost exclusive Protestant monopoly.

"In the Veterinary Branch the Chief Inspector, with £700 [\$3500] a year, and two travelling inspectors at the head of the list,

with £440 [\$2200] and £260 [\$1300] a year, wear the favourite colors, I am told, while a few clerks and messengers are Catholics.

“At the head of the Science and Art Museum, with a salary of £742 10s. [\$3710], is Lieut.-Colonel Plunkett, whose sympathies are well known, and in whose office, you may be sure, the interests of the brethren are not forgotten.

“At the National Library of Ireland the librarian, with £550 [\$2750] a year, and the three assistant librarians, with £237 [\$1185], £220 [\$1100], and £200 [\$1000] a year, all belong to the dominant creed.

“Among the attendants, paid at the rate of seven and a half pence an hour, there are, I believe, some Catholics; but three and a half millions of Irish Catholics could not furnish even an assistant librarian to the National Library of Ireland.

“The Keeper of Royal Botanic Gardens, with £400 [\$2000] a year and other allowances, is a Protestant; and nearly all the officials of the Metropolitan School of Art, with salaries from £500 [\$2500] a year to £145 [\$725], are of the same denomination.

“Another institution that is now under the Department of Agriculture is the College of Science. In this institution there are eleven professors, three of whom are in the enjoyment of £750 [\$3750] a year each, with railroad and other allowances; four have £600 [\$3000] a year each, two have £400 [\$2000] each, and two have £350 [\$1750]. Out of the whole eleven there is not, I believe, a single Catholic. Among three-fourths of the Irish people you cannot get as much as a Professor of Chemistry or a Professor of Mathematics.

“Turning away now from these government boards and departments—which are far from being exhausted—let us direct our attention for a moment to the professions of law and medicine.

“In the legal profession you had not long ago an Irish Catholic judge in the Court of Appeals of the House of Lords. He has now been replaced by an Englishman and a Protestant.

“In 1880, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Chief Baron, and about half the judges of the higher courts were Catholics. Now out of sixteen three remain Catholic. Out of four Recorders only one is a Catholic. Out of twenty-two County Court judges only seven are Catholics.

“ Catholic Louth, Catholic Donegal, Catholic Tipperary, Catholic Kerry, and practically the whole province of Connaught, the most Catholic province, I suppose, in the whole world, must of necessity have the law laid down for them by Protestant judges, whose moral worth and legal acquirements Catholic barristers could not be expected to approach. Out of forty-four Benchers of the King’s Inns only nine are Catholic.

“ In the Land Commission, out of three Estate Commissioners only one is a Catholic. Out of six Legal Commissioners only two are Catholics. According to a return made to Parliament in 1902, at the request of Mr. MacVeagh, M.P., out of sixty-eight Resident Magistrates there are forty-nine Protestants and only nineteen Catholics. Of the four Dublin Police Magistrates, two are Roman Catholics. Out of the six Police Inspectors promoted to be Resident Magistrates by the present government not a single one is a Catholic. Out of 1272 Justices of the Peace there are 1014 Protestants and 251 Catholics. No information could be obtained as to the religious belief of the Court Officials, Taxing Masters, Receivers, Accountants, Registrars, etc. Religion is never inquired into when making these appointments. Why should it? What is the necessity when the information is supplied gratis and through the most reliable channels!

“ I should not forget to mention that in the Court of Appeal, where cases of the greatest delicacy and of the utmost practical importance to Catholics are decided, there is now not a single Catholic judge. How the heavens would resound if the case were reversed; or, rather, if the small minority of Protestants in Ireland had no representative in the highest Court of Appeal in the land!

“ Then all the Law Officers of the Crown as far back as the eye can reach, are of the dominant creed. At their head you have an Attorney-General and a Solicitor-General, both of them remarkable for their hostility to Catholics, and both of them ready to step on to the Bench to administer justice to the people whose interests they have hitherto been trampling under their feet. After them come the Sergeants-at-Law, the Crown Prosecutors, and Crown Counsel, and nowhere do you see any grounds to hope that things will not go from bad to worse as the years go by. The most distinguished Irish lawyer of his day [The

MacDermot] was allowed to go down to his grave without the reward which was due, and people responsible for his exclusion come forward to lecture us on toleration and fair play.

“In the medical profession the two great institutions which have been empowered by statute to examine and grant diplomas—the Royal College of Physicians and the Royal College of Surgeons—are both absolutely dominated by Protestants. In the case of the College of Physicians the charter has been rather cleverly grafted on an old foundation of Sir Patrick Dun, and the spirit of the pious founder can be judged from the fact that when Henry Grattan in the old Irish Parliament asked that at least the Chairs of Anatomy, Chemistry, and Botany in Trinity College should be thrown open to Catholics, he was met with the objection that these Chairs had been privately founded by Sir Patrick Dun on the express condition that they should never be occupied by Catholics. Such was the spirit of the real founder of the Royal College of Physicians; and you can judge as to whether that spirit has been observed, notwithstanding the charter which this institution has received from the State and the vast amount of money it has received from Catholics for diplomas and otherwise. Some of the most distinguished Catholic doctors in Dublin have been blackballed for its Fellowship. Out of sixty-five of its Fellows only eleven are Catholics. Out of forty-four appointments made to them this year thirty-eight went to Protestants and six to Catholics. The various boards and committees are so manned that Catholics can be kept in perpetual subjection, if they can no longer be excluded according to the wish of the pious founder. The time is coming, however, I believe, when these gentlemen will either have to do justice to Catholics or to see their charter torn away from Sir Patrick Dun and his pious foundations.

“The College of Surgeons, which got large grants of public money, even as far back as the days of the Napoleonic wars, is apparently as complete a monopoly as the College of Physicians. It is governed by a Council, consisting of twenty-one members, of which four are Catholics. Out of fifteen Professors of the College only one is a Catholic; and out of twenty-four examiners four are Catholics. In addition to the money contributed by Parliament, this institution draws large sums from Catholics in

fees for lectures and for diplomas, and the return it makes is to keep Catholics almost at the door.”

In a letter to the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, April, 1905, Samuel Young, Derryvolgie, Belfast, thus deals with the question of “Protestantism and Prosperity”:

“ Lord Lieutenant and his household :

“ Protestants, £36,230; Catholics, £650.

“ Chief Secretary's office :

“ Protestants, £14,200; Catholics, £2920.

“ Judges of the High Court :

“ Protestants, £51,692 6s.; Catholics, £13,112 8s. 8d.

“ Law Offices of the Crown :

“ Protestants, £9050; Catholics, nothing.

“ Recorders and County Court Judges :

“ Protestants, £21,500; Catholics, £10,000.

“ Resident Magistrates :

“ Protestants (49), £29,400; Catholics (19), £11,400.

“ County Inspectors of Police :

“ Protestants (33), £14,850; Catholics (4), £1800.

“ District Inspectors of Police :

“ Protestants, £29,876; Catholics, £11,640.”

There exists no means of ascertaining the nationality of those who fill the various offices in the seventy-eight different departments or commissions which carry on the government of Ireland by their own methods in Dublin Castle. After diligent search, but one writer has been found who has attempted to do more than state the fact as to the small number of Irishmen who are ever entrusted with office within this select body. Mr. Barry, writing in 1844, gave expression to the great injustice done Irishmen in the distribution of public office in Ireland. The injustice realized by that writer was the exclusion of Protestant Irishmen, as at that time the Catholics, although the equal by law, were considered by the many as scarcely trustworthy for the most menial office. Barry wrote¹:

¹ *Ireland as She Was*, etc., page 64.

“ There remains one fact to show that a total discouragement of Irish talent is met with by Irishmen, even on their own soil. I give it on the authority of an opponent, the Dublin *Evening Mail*, which inserted the statement in reply to an article that appeared in the *Times* newspaper: ‘ The Archbishop of Dublin is an Englishman, the Chief Administrator of the Irish Poor Law is an Englishman, the Paymaster of the Irish Civil Service is a Scotchman, the Chief Commissioner of Irish Public Works is an Englishman, the Teller of the Exchequer is an Englishman, the Chief Officer of the Irish Constabulary is a Scotchman, the Chief Officer of the Irish Post-office is an Englishman, the Collector of Excise is a Scotchman, the Head of the Revenue Police is an Englishman, the second in command is a Scotchman, the persons employed in the collection of the customs, etc., are English and Scotch in the proportion of thirty-five to one.’

“ The writer, as if it were a matter of course, did not state that all the minor offices were filled by the chiefs with their necessitous relatives, as is the case to the present day.

“ ‘ We could easily swell,’ he adds, ‘ this list were it necessary. *Ireland has always been used by English Ministers as a means of providing for poor relatives, dependents, and partisans; our highest as well as our lowest offices have been prostituted for this purpose.* What would be thought of an Irish lawyer being called over as Lord Chancellor of England? Yet, we are forced to take English lawyers as our Lord Chancellors; so through all the departments of government, injustice to Ireland everywhere meets us; and so will things continue until we learn to think less about party and more about our country.’

“ To the list here given of Englishmen holding Irish offices are to be added the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, and the Lord Chancellor. Truly the complaint of Swift that, ‘ Those who have the misfortune to be born here have the least title to any considerable [we might add inconsiderable] employment,’ has passed in our day into a government maxim.”

Mr. Gladstone made some changes and radical ones but after he retired from office the old condition was soon restored.

"By coercion the British Government has always upheld the worst excesses of the worst landlords,"

L. Paul-Dubois.

APPENDIX

"In the full daylight of the nineteenth century, we still meet a Lord Plunket, an Anglican Bishop, who evicts his Catholic tenants because they refuse to have their children educated in Protestant schools."

L. Paul-Dubois

"Old chroniclers say that persistence in work was formerly a racial characteristic among the Irish."

De Beaumont

APPENDIX
(TO VOLUME I)

NOTE I

(From page 113.)

IRISH EMIGRANTS WERE FORCED TO CHANGE THEIR NAMES—FEW
ENGLISH SETTLED IN THIS COUNTRY

As an example of this fact, it is authenticated that the father of Sir William Johnson, the agent of the English Government in charge of the Indians in the central portion of the colony of New York, was an Irishman named MacShane. When emigrating to this country as a boy he had to submit to the Anglicizing of his name from William MacShane to William the son of John or Johnson.¹ The early and continued emigration of the Irish to this country during the seventeenth century has been lost sight of, in consequence of this change to English surnames and from the fact that no vessel was knowingly allowed to sail from Ireland direct but by law was obliged first to visit an English port before clearance papers could be obtained. Consequently every Irish emigrant crossing in an Irish or English vessel, from either England or Ireland, appeared in the official records as English, for the voyage did not begin according to law until the ship cleared from an English port, and all passengers on arrival in this country were rated as English. We prove the converse by establishing these facts, that a large emigration did reach this country by some route which was not under English control. We know that there was constant intercourse with the continent from the west coast of Ireland

¹ This statement found in the *Transactions of the Irish-American Historical Society*, has not been verified. The social position claimed for the family in Ireland would render the circumstance improbable, although it illustrates a common occurrence.

which England was never able to check. How otherwise can we explain the presence of undoubted Irish surnames unchanged, as found in the early records of the country? And on the other hand we find to-day Irishmen and their descendants in this country bearing the name of Sutton, Chester, Kinsale, White, Black, Brown, Smith, Carpenter, Cook, Butler, etc., proving thereby that this law was enforced by which they were deprived of their pure Irish names, and that they did not or were not allowed to change their names after coming to this country. The colonial records bear testimony that Irish people were here at an early period and so many hamlets on the frontier were designated by distinctive Irish names that, had we no other proof than these facts, we could not honestly divest ourselves of the conviction that Ireland contributed more in numbers for the development of this country than came from any other single source. English historians and those in this country who have written in English interests have impressed the world at large that we are an English people. Great injustice has been done the Irish people by depriving them of credit so justly due them for their labors in this country. My investigations have impressed me with the belief that, of the seventy-five millions forming our present population, there are a far greater number of individuals who could be certain of an African origin than there are of those who could prove a direct English descent.

This subject is treated of at length in an address by the writer on "Irish Emigration during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," published in the *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, vol. ii.

NOTE II

(From page 137.)

THE SO-CALLED "SCOTCH-IRISH"—WHO WERE THEY?

The text of this volume had been written a year or more before the author heard an excellent paper entitled *American History as it is Falsified* and read by Mr. Joseph Smith, of Lowell, Mass., at a meeting of the American-Irish Historical Society, in New York, February 7, 1898, since printed in the *Transactions* of that Society. Mr. Smith has treated of the Scotch-Irish

question so fully that no apology is necessary for giving a few extracts from his essay referring to this subject:

“ The Rev. Andrew Stewart, Presbyterian Pastor of Donaghadee, from 1645–1671, who was born and raised in Ulster, leaves this record: ‘ From Scotland came many, and from England not a few; yet all of them naturally the scum of both nations, who for debt, or breaking, or fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither hoping to be without fear of man’s justice in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear of God.’

. . . The reverend gentleman gives us a further hint of the people who came thus running from the sheriff and the heavy hand of the law. He says: ‘ In a few years there flocked such a multitude of people from Scotland that the counties of Down, Antrim, Londonderry, etc., were in a good measure planted, yet most of the people made up a body, and it is strange of different names, nations, dialects, tempers and breeding, all void of Godliness, who seem rather to flee God in this enterprise, than to follow His mercy: albeit at first it must be remembered that they cared little for any other church.’ . . . ‘ People of many nations and dialects coming out of Scotland,’ needs an explanation. Mr. Motley in his *History of the Dutch Republic* throws a great light upon this subject. He says in effect that the religious wars of Protestant and Catholic and the persecution growing out of them of the ever-increasing sectaries, drove shoals of artisans from Germany, Holland and France to England: Elizabeth of England had troubles of her own and, while she quarrelled with the Pope and disputed his headship, she was jealously insistent of her own leadership of her State Church and had no use for the pugnacious sectaries from across the Channel. In time, owing to the English jealousy of the foreigners and rival manufacturers and the Queen’s abhorrence of rivals against divinely-selected Kings, Elizabeth shut down on the Refugees and refused them asylum. In those days it was a greater offence to insult the Majesty of earth than Heaven. Scotland, then in the throes of religious squabbles and the game of church-plundering, under the practical guidance of John Knox, gave them a welcome as kindred spirits.

“ When other days came, when Mary’s head had rolled from the block at Fotheringay, when her wretched son was enthroned,

the foreign element found Scotland a poor land to live in. The settlement of Ulster gave them their chance, and they flocked there with Scotchmen and Englishmen to settle down and intermarry and become, as all before them had become at that Irish crucible, Irish.

“ If, as is pretended, a certain number of Lowland Scotchmen of the Presbyterian religion *accomplished so much in Ulster and America, why have not the majority of the same people accomplished as much in their own land and elsewhere when all the conditions were in their favor?* And again, if so much was accomplished by an Irish environment and an Irish racial mixture, and so little achieved by the pure Scot under more favorable circumstances, is it not a reasonable deduction that the Irish element was the responsible factor in the achievement? If not, why not? . . . Motley says England and Scotland in that age had the rudest system of agriculture in Europe. The highest system of agriculture as well as the linen and woollen industries came with the skilled exiles from Holland and France, and even as great a plunderer as Wentworth was wise enough to foster them.

“ And I might ask, why did n't these marvellous Scots make their own country famous for woollen and linen industries; when they made their own laws and could snap their fingers at English jealousy? ”

In Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (1867, foot-note, vol. i., page 84), a full account is given of Stewart's manuscript history, which has never been published and is among the Woodrow MSS. in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh. Reid gives a number of quotations from Stewart's work but omitted the portion of the following sentence which is here given in Italics: “ Yet most of the people made up a body, *and it is strange, of different names, nations, dialects, tempers and breeding, all void of Godliness, etc.* ” Mr. Smith's attention being called to the discrepancy, he stated that he had taken the quotation from *The Plantation of Ulster*, by the Rev. George Hill, of Belfast, Ireland, and he wrote to Mr. Hill for an explanation. The answer, dated April 17, 1899, I have seen and in it Mr. Hill stated: “ I have quoted his precise words in both books to which you refer, etc. ” Thus showing that Reid and others omitted the most important portion of the sentence, to which Motley has given the

explanation. Attention has been given this subject at some length as a large portion of the Orangemen in the north of Ireland proudly claim a descent from these people, as well as many of the Anglo-maniacs of this country who boast of their so-called "Scotch-Irish" ancestors. In this connection it will be well for them to consult in addition Reid's *History*, already referred to (vol. i., p. 195), where it will be shown that in 1637 the Scotch Presbyterians of Ireland were persecuted to such an extent that they were driven back into Scotland: "The Western parts of Scotland became at this period, a reasonable asylum for the oppressed people of Ulster. Numbers removed thither compelled to abandon Ireland, where fines and other punishments begin to be inflicted without mercy on the non-conforming laity, etc." From what source, then, came the so-called "Scotch-Irish"?

NOTE III

(From page 140.)

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THOMAS A. EMMET TO IRISH HISTORY

Towards the close of Mr. Emmet's confinement as a State prisoner in Fort George, Scotland, for having been a leader in the uprising of 1798, he was granted by the Governor of the Fortress better quarters and the free use of pen, ink and paper. He fortunately availed himself of this privilege by writing an extended sketch in relation to the early organization of the United Irishmen and their efforts to obtain an amelioration of the condition of the Catholic population of Ireland by the repeal of the "Popery Laws," with a description of what led to the outburst of the people in the so-called Rebellion of 1798. The fact that he had taken an active part and was able to relate in detail the circumstances of which he had a personal knowledge renders his statement of particular value. It may be claimed, moreover, that very few historical events have been so accurately recorded and without prejudice as this portion of Irish history by him. Consequently we will use this material in preference to that which other writers have obtained second hand; it, moreover, possesses the advantage of being rather new material as few writers seem to have had any knowledge of its existence. It is to be regretted that Mr. Emmet was unable to accomplish what he had contemplated in making use of this work in writing an ex-

haustive historical work. But after his release he was forced to lay aside all thought of undertaking any additional literary labor, in consequence of the 'demands upon his time in providing for the support of his family.

After Mr. Emmet had settled in New York and had been subjected through party spirit to both insult and opposition, owing to his place of birth and his political connection with it, it became necessary for local political reasons to print Mr. Emmet's essay together with some other material from the same source.

This was done by a United Irishman, a friend and fellow-prisoner of Mr. Emmet, Dr. William James McNeven. He made some additions to the work of Mr. Emmet and published it under the title, *Pieces of Irish History, Illustrative of the Condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the Origin and Progress of the Political System of the United Irishmen and of their Transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government*, New York, 1807.

But for Dr. McNeven's assistance as an editor it is not likely that the little work would have been published but, at the same time, the fact that it appeared under the name of another, to a great extent deprived Mr. Emmet of the credit to which he was entitled.

NOTE IV

(From page 194.)

ENGLAND TO STRENGTHEN HER HOLD ON THE COUNTRY HAS KEPT
ALIVE RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE AND STRIFE IN IRELAND

Among the published letters of Thomas, Earl Strafford, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, we find one written July 19, 1634, to the Lord Treasurer of England, on the advantages arising from the policy of the Government in "*fomenting emulations*" between the Catholics and Protestants. He evidently was but reporting on the result of carrying out the instructions he had received. It may be added that under all parties it has been a settled purpose of the English Government to keep alive in Ireland religious prejudice. It has been England's strength in the past and has been exercised on all occasions, when it could be *judiciously* done, by granting some concession to the Catholics, for the purpose and with the effect of giving new life to the flames which were for the time but smouldering. Robert Emmet when on his trial

said in his speech: "While the destruction of that Government which upholds its dominion by impiety against the Most High, which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the field, which sets man upon his brother and lifts its hands in religion's name against the throats of his fellows who believe a little more or less than the Government standard, which reigns amidst the cries of the orphans and widows it has made. . . ." Here he was interrupted by the judge and not allowed to continue but sufficient was said to show what was the policy of the Government then and that it had not changed.

The English Government must stand charged with fostering religious intolerance not only in Ireland but in all her colonies and its presence in this country. It at no time adopted any measures, even in recent years, to discourage this intolerance in Ireland, hence it has been perpetuated generation after generation.

The Government in secret not only encouraged persecution of the Catholics in Ireland but it always protected afterwards those who were active therein, while showing no mercy to the Catholics who might turn in desperation and retaliate.

The Orange lodges exist, in all the English colonies, to keep alive the same intolerant spirit against the Catholic Irish and to maintain issues which should have ceased two hundred years ago. This organization of Orangemen exists even in the United States, where it certainly should have no place since an American citizen cannot openly persecute another without incurring responsibility; and they have no political interest or right here in maintaining a Protestant succession to the British Crown.

NOTE V

(From page 234.)

NOTICE OF MISS EMMET, AFTERWARDS THE WIFE OF ROBERT HOLMES—HER DEATH

Miss Mary Anne Emmet was a woman of remarkable talents and attainments. She was a frequent writer for the Press and many of her articles bore evidence of a profound knowledge of both finance and political economy. She always wrote anonymously and some of her more lengthy articles, on the political issues of the day, had a very large circulation in pamphlet form.

She married Robert Holmes, of Dublin, "father of the North East Bar." Mr. Holmes had been absent in England on business and unfortunately arrived in Dublin the night of the "outbreak" under Robert Emmet. He was ignorant of Emmet's movements and on the way home after his arrival he was recognized in the street by the police, arrested and imprisoned. His wife remained in ignorance of his fate beyond the fact of his arrival and his supposed arrest. After a confinement of a year or more Mr. Holmes was released and going to his house rang the bell for admission. Unfortunately his wife had but just entered the house and turning she opened the door—to fall dead in her husband's arms.

This incident has not only been held as a family tradition but confirmed by the statement of Sir Bernard Burke. On one occasion he informed the writer that the room in which he had his private office, as king-at-arms in the John's Tower, Dublin Castle, was the one in which Mr. Holmes had been confined; he also then cited the fact of the sudden death of Mrs. Holmes in the manner described.

NOTE VI

(From page 248.)

NAMES OF THOSE WHO VOTED FOR THE UNION—THE "COMPENSATION" FOR EACH VOTE

Barrington states: "The observations annexed to the names of these lists were at the time, either in actual proof, or sufficiently notorious to have been printed in various documents at that epoch."

ORIGINAL BLACK LIST

1. R. Aldrige. An English clerk in the Secretary's office; no connection with Ireland.
2. Henry Alexander. Chairman of Ways and Means; cousin of Lord Caledon; his brother made Bishop; himself Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope.
3. Richard Archdall. Commissioner of the Board of Works.
4. William Bailey. Commissioner of the Board of Works.
5. Rt. Hon. J. Beresford. First Commissioner of Revenue; brother-in-law to Lord Clare.

6. J. Beresford, Jr. Then Purse-bearer to Lord Clare, afterwards a parson, and now Lord Decies.
7. Marcus Beresford. A Colonel in the Army, son to the Bishop, Lord Clare's nephew.
8. J. Bingham.¹ Created a Peer; got £8000 for two seats and £15,000 compensation for Tuam. This gentleman first offered himself for *sale* to the Anti-Unionist, Lord Clanmorris.
9. Jos. H. Blake. Created a Peer—Lord Wallscourt, etc.
10. Sir J. G. Blackwood. Created a Peer—Lord Dufferin.
11. Sir John Blaquiere. Numerous offices and pensions, and created a Peer—Lord Blaquiere.
12. Anthony Botet. Appointed Commissioner of the Barrack Board, £500 a year.
13. Colonel Burton. Brother to Lord Conyngham; a Colonel in the Army.
14. Sir Richard Butler. Purchased and changed sides: voted *against* the Union in 1799, and for it in 1800. Cash.
15. Lord Boyle. Son of Lord Shannon: they got an immense sum of money for their seats and boroughs at £15,000 each borough.²
16. Rt. Hon. D. Brown. Brother to Lord Sligo.
17. Stewart Bruce. Gentleman Usher at Dublin Castle; now a Baronet.
18. George Burdet. Commissioner of a Public Board, £500 per annum.
19. George Bunbury. Commissioner of a Public Board, £500 per annum.
20. Arthur Brown. Changed *sides and principles* and was appointed Sergeant; in 1799 opposed the Union and supported it in 1800; he was senior Fellow of Dublin University; lost his seat the ensuing election, and died.
21. Bagwall, Sen. *Changed twice*: got the patronage of Tipperary; his son a Dean, etc., etc.

¹ Barrington states in a note he was "deputed to learn from Mr. Bingham what his expectations from Government for his seats were: he proposed to take from the Opposition £8000 for his two seats, £15,000 for Tuam and oppose the Union. Government afterwards added a peerage and £55,000 for the borough!"

² It has already been stated that Lord Shannon received for his patronage in the Commons £55,000!

22. Bagwell, Jun. *Changed twice*: got the Tipperary Regiment, etc.
23. Wm. Bagwell. His brother.
24. Lord Castlereagh. The Irish Minister.
25. George Cavendish. Secretary of the Treasury during pleasure: son of Sir Henry.
26. Sir H. Cavendish. Receiver-General during pleasure: deeply indebted to the Crown.
27. Sir R. Chinnery. Placed in office after the Union.
28. James Cane. Renegaded, and got a pension.
29. Thos. Casey. A Commissioner of Bankrupts under Lord Clare; made a city magistrate.
30. Col. C. Cope. Renegaded: got a regiment and the patronage of his country.
31. Gen. Cradock. Returned to Government: much military rank; now Lord Howden.
32. James Crosby. A regiment and the patronage of Kerry, jointly; seconded the Address.
34. Charles H. Coote. Obtained a regiment (which was taken from Col. Wharburton); patronage of Queen's County, and a peerage (Lord Castlecoote) and £7500 in cash for his interest at the borough of Maryborough, in which, in fact, it was *proved* before the commissioners that the author (Barrington) of this work had more interest than his Lordship.
35. Rt. Hon. J. Corry. Appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, on dismissal of Sir John Parnell.
36. Sir J. Cotter. Privately bought over by cash.
37. Richard Cotter.
38. Hon. H. Creighton. Renegaded; privately purchased.
39. Hon. J. Creighton. Renegaded; privately purchased.
40. W. A. Crosbie. Comptroller to the Lord Lieutenant's household.
41. James Cuffe. Natural son to Mr. Cuffe of the Board of Works; his father created Lord Tyrawly.
42. General Dunne. Returned for Maryborough by the united influence of Lord Castlecoote and Government, to keep out Mr. Barrington; gained the election by only *one*.
43. Wm. Elliot. Secretary of the Castle.

44. Gen. Eustace. A regiment.
45. Lord C. Fitzgerald. Duke of Leinster's brother; a pension and a peerage; a sea officer of no repute.
46. Rt. Hon. W. Fitzgerald.
47. Sir C. Fatescue. Renegaded officer; king-at-arms.
48. A. Fergusson. Got a place at the Barrack Board, £500 a year and a baronetcy.
49. Luke Fox. Appointed Judge of Common Pleas; nephew by marriage to Lord Ely.
50. Wm. Fortescue. Got a secret pension out of the fund (£3000 a year) entrusted by Parliament to the Irish Government, solely to reward Mr. Reynolds, Cope, etc., etc., and those who informed against the rebels.
51. J. Galbraith. Lord Abercorn's attorney; got a baronetage.
52. Henry D. Grady. First Counsel to the Commissioners.
53. Rich. Hare. Put two members into Parliament and was created Lord Ennismore for their votes.
54. Wm. Hare. His son.
55. Col. B. Henniker. A regiment and paid £3500 for his seat by the Commissioners of Compensation.
56. Peter Holmes. A Commissioner of Stamps.
57. George Hatton. Appointed Commissioner of Stamps.
58. Hon. J. Hutchinson. A General—Lord Hutchinson.
59. Hugh Howard. Lord Wicklow's brother; made Postmaster-General.
60. Wm. Hancock (Athlone). An extraordinary instance: he made and sang songs *against* the Union in 1799, at a public dinner of the Opposition, and made and sang songs *for* it in 1800; he got a peerage.
61. John Hobson. Appointed storekeeper at the Castle Ordnance.
62. Col. G. Jackson. A regiment.
63. Denham Jephson. Master of Horse to the Lord Lieutenant.
64. Hon. G. Jocelyn. Promoted in the Army, and his brother created Bishop of Lismore.
65. Wm. Jones.
66. Theophilus Jones. A collector of Dublin.
67. Major-General Jackson. A regiment.
68. Wm. Johnson. Returned to Parliament by Lord Castle-

reagh, as he himself declared "to put an end to it."
Appointed a judge since.

69. Robt. Johnson. Seceded from his patron, Lord Downshire, and was appointed a judge.
70. John Keane. A renegade; got a pension.
71. Garries Kearny. Returned by Lord Clifton, being his attorney; got an office.
72. Henry Kemmis. Son of the Crown Solicitor.
73. Wm. Knot. Appointed a Commissioner of Appeals, £800 a year.
74. Andrew Knox.
75. Colonel Keatinge.
76. Rt. Hon. Sir H. Langrishe. A Commissioner of the Revenue; received £15,000 cash for his patronage at Knocktopher.
77. T. Lindsay, Sen. Commissioner of Stamps; paid £1500 for his patronage.
78. T. Lindsay, Jun. Usher of the Castle; paid £1500 for his patronage.
79. L. Longfield. Created a Peer—Lord Longueville.
80. Capt. J. Longfield. Appointed to the office of Ship Entries of Dublin, taken from Sir Jonah Barrington.
81. Lord Loftus. Son of Lord Ely, Postmaster-General; got £30,000 for their boroughs, and created an English Marquis.
82. General Lake. An Englishman (no connection with Ireland) returned by Lord Castlereagh, solely to vote for the Union.
83. Right Hon. Dav. Latouche.
84. General Loftus. A General; got a regiment; cousin to Lord Ely.
85. Francis McNamara. Cash, and a private pension, paid by Lord Castlereagh.
86. Ross Mahon. Several appointments and places by Government.
87. Richard Martin. Commissioner of Stamps.
88. Right Hon. Monk Mason. A Commissioner of Revenue.
89. H. D. Massey. Received £4000 cash.
90. Thos. Mahon.

91. A. E. McNaghten. Appointed a Lord of the Treasury, etc.
92. Stephen Moore. A Postmaster at will.
93. N. M. Moore.
94. Right Hon. Lodge Morris. Created a Peer.
95. Sir R. Musgrave. Appointed Receiver of the Customs,
£1000 a year.
96. Jas. M'Cleland. A barrister—appointed Solicitor-General
and then Baron of the Exchequer.
97. Col. G. McDonnel. Commissioner of Imprest Accounts,
£500 per annum.
98. Rich. Maginness. Commissioner of Imprest Accounts,
£500 per annum.
99. Thos. Nesbit. A pensioner at will.
100. Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart. Bought (see *Nemoirs, ante*),
and a peerage for his wife.
101. Rich. Neville. Renegaded; reinstated as Teller of the
Exchequer.
102. Wm. Odell. A regiment; and Lord of the Treasury.
103. Chas. Osborne. A barrister; appointed a Judge of the
King's Bench.
104. C. M. Ormsby. Appointed First Council Commissioner.
105. Adm'l Pakenham. Master of the Ordinance.
106. Colonel Pakenham. A regiment; killed at New Orleans.
107. H. S. Prittie. A peerage; Lord Dunalley.
108. R. Penefather.
109. T. Prendergast. An officer in the Court of Chancery,
£500 a year; his brother Crown Solicitor.
110. Sir Rich. Quin. A peerage.
111. Sir Boyle Roche. Gentleman Usher at the Castle.
112. R. Rutledge.
113. Hon. C. Rowley. Renegaded and appointed to office by
Lord Castlereagh.
114. Hon. H. Skeffington. Clerk of the Paper Office of the
Castle and £7500 for his patronage.
115. Wm. Smith. A barrister; appointed a Baron of Exchequer.
116. H. M. Sanford. Created a Peer—Lord Mount Sanford.
117. Edmond Stanley. Appointed a Commissioner of Accounts.
118. John Staples.

119. John Stewart. Appointed Attorney-General and created a baronet.
120. John Stratton.
121. Hon. B. Stratford. Renegaded to get £7500, his half of the compensation for Balinglass.
122. Hon. G. Stratford. Paymaster of Foreign Forces, £1300 a year and £7500 for Balinglass.
123. Rich. Sharkey. An obscure barrister; appointed a county judge.
124. Thos. Stannus. Renegaded.
125. J. Savage.
126. Rt. Hon. J. Toler. Attorney-General; his wife, an old woman, created a Peeress; himself made Chief Justice, and a Peer.
127. Frederick Trench. Appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Works.
128. Hon. R. Trench. A barrister; created a Peer and made an Ambassador.
129. Charles Trench. His brother; appointed Commissioner of Inland Navigation, a new office created by Lord Cornwallis, for rewards.
130. Rich. Talbot.
131. P. Tottenham. Compensated for patronage; cousin and politically connected with Lord Ely.
132. Lord Tyrone. One hundred and four offices in the gift of his family; proposed the Union in Parliament, by a speech written in the crown of his hat.
133. Charles Tottenham. In office.
134. ——— Townsend. A Commissioner.
135. Robt. Tighe. Commissioner of Barracks.
136. Robt. Uniack. A Commissioner connected with Lord Clare.
137. Jas. Verner. Called the Prince of Orange.
138. J. O. Vandeleur. Commissioner of the Revenue; his brother a judge.
139. Col. Wemyss. Collector of Kilkenny.
140. Henry Westensaw. Father of Lord Rossmore, who is of the very reverse of his father's politics.

Barrington's comment on the men whose names form this

“Black List” is as follows: “As to the House of Lords the servile—almost miraculous—submission with which they surrendered their hereditary prerogative, honours, rights, and dignities, into the hands of Lord Clare and Castlereagh, is a subject unprecedented.”

One ignorant of the facts would be surprised to find on investigation how many of the titles and how much of the wealth of the present “Irish Nobility,” who form a portion of the English garrison in Ireland, can be traced directly to corruption and bribery for the purchase of a vote for the “Union” with England, just one hundred years ago. Their ancestors were as a rule in full sympathy with one of the actors of the day who thanked God that he had a country to sell. In every other country but Ireland the nobility have more or less in common with the people. The descendants of those who thus betrayed their country are a marked class of people, who so long as they are sustained by English influence will continue to subsist on the country and can never become again identified with the people nor with the general interests of the nation. They, with their kinsmen, who form the average landlord class, on parting with their landed property, which is overburdened with debt, are doomed to emigrate at some future day unless they become Irishmen *in fact*. Possibly the English Government will continue to reward them elsewhere for past services. In addition to those who were paid directly for their services, a large number were pensioned with annuities charged to the Irish Tax list for every conceivable degree of damage and it is most probable that their descendants are still receiving these annuities, under some plea, to the detriment of the Irish taxpayer.

Barrington adds the following statement in a foot-note (page 436): “The extraordinary claims for compensation and some extraordinary grants by the Commissioners, would, on any other occasion be a fit subject for ridicule. But the application of one million and a half sterling to purposes so public and so vile, renders it an eternal blot on the Government in Ireland. . . . Among other curious claims for Union *compensations*, in the report *printed* and *circulated*, appears one from the Lord Lieutenant’s Rat-catcher at the Castle, for decrease of employment; another from the ‘*Necessary woman*’ of the Privy Council of England, for the increased trouble in her department, with numerous others of the same quality!”

NOTE VII

(From page 293.)

HISTORY OF THE INVESTIGATIONS MADE IN DUBLIN TO ASCERTAIN
POSITIVELY THE BURIAL PLACE OF ROBERT EMMET

At the close of the eighteenth century the Emmet family of Dublin, Ireland, resided on West Stephen's Green and Lamb Lane near the corner of York Street. The church of that parish was St. Peter's, fronting on Aungier Street. According to a map used by "The Wide Street Commission," between 1790 and 1800, the shape of the land plot of the churchyard may be described as an oblique truncated parallelogram. Aungier Street, on the east side, ran north and south. Its north boundary line formed a right angle and extended to St. Peter's Row or White Friars Street on the west, which latter thoroughfare, running from northwest to southeast, shortened the length of the south boundary line greatly in comparison with that of the north wall with which it was parallel. St. Peter's Church at that time occupied the middle third of the ground plot, in the form of a parallelogram, from east to west, with the addition of an incomplete transept extending nearly to the north boundary wall. Subsequent to 1860 a similar addition was made to the south side of the church to complete the cross. At one period, along the outside of the south wall of the churchyard ran Church Alley, from Aungier to White Friars Street. This is now built over. In the southeast corner of the churchyard, at the angle of Aungier Street and Church Alley, extending back upon the church property for twenty-two feet stood a watch- or guardhouse. This building was used before the beginning of the last century and was removed about 1830.

The Emmet burial-place, or family vault, was situated in this churchyard but no map is known to be in existence by which the exact spot can be ascertained. The only indication is given by Dr. Richard R. Madden in his work, *The Lives of the United Irishmen*, in the second edition of which, published just previous to 1860, he records the death and burial of Doctor Robert Emmet as follows:

“Dr. Emmet died at Casino, near Milltown (outside of Dublin), in the autumn of 1802. He was buried in the graveyard of St. Peter’s Church, in Aungier Street, on the right-hand side of the entrance, close to the wall on the south side.”

He also states that the tomb or vault had the following inscription on it:

“ HERE LIES THE REMAINS OF
ROBERT EMMET, ESQR., M.D.,
WHO DIED THE 9TH OF DECEMBER, 1802,
IN THE 73D YEAR OF HIS AGE.”

Mr. Fitzpatrick, in his *Sham Squire*, is the only other authority on the location of this burial-place. He simply states that it was situated in the southeast corner of the churchyard.

In 1880 the writer failed not only to find this tomb but any other in St. Peter’s churchyard. He found, on inquiry, that all the tombstones had been removed some years before, but were yet preserved, and that several feet of earth had been spread upon the surface of the ground to raise it to the level of the street in front. The tombstones, after removal and after the filling in of the yard, had been placed in piles along the west boundary wall. These were carefully examined at the time of the writer’s visit but no trace of any bearing the name of Emmet was found. As the inscribed stone found by Dr. Madden marking the Emmet vault or tomb was a flat one, lying horizontally over the entrance, it was inferred by the writer then that this was not removed with the others but was merely covered over when the ground was filled in to the level of Aungier Street and back to White Friars Street.

The tombstones examined in 1880 are now secured upright against the walls of the church and yard and one of them is laid in the floor of the recently built portion of the transept on the south side as though to mark a vault or grave covered by that portion of the church; but, in the absence of any map or plan among the church records which might have been used as a guide to the removal and placing of the tombstones in their subsequent position, we must infer that the latter was decided at haphazard and with complete indifference to the rights of the living and the dead.

On the approach of the centenary of the death of Robert Emmet the writer was urged, through letters received from widely separated parts of the world, to initiate as a representative of the Emmet family an effort to discover the place of his ancestor's burial. Before placing on record what has been accomplished in furtherance of this object it is necessary to place before the reader, in detail, some circumstantial evidence which has for a longer or shorter period been known and more or less accepted by the present generation of the family in regard to the manner and place of Robert Emmet's burial. Everything relating to the life and death of his granduncle possessed for the writer intense interest, from his earliest childhood and throughout a period when he was in full and frequent communication with his father, his grandmother, his uncles and aunts who had known personally their kinsman, Robert Emmet, and who must have been familiar with all the circumstances of his death and burial. Although the writer cannot remember ever hearing the subject of Robert Emmet's burial discussed by any contemporary member of the family the impression received at that period, and long maintained by the writer, was that his ancestor had been buried in an uninscribed grave as was his well-known wish. No doubt was ever cast, so far as the writer knows, upon this assumption until all those who had knowledge of the subject had passed away. The existence of the family burial-place in St. Peter's churchyard was known to every member of the family before the publication of Dr. Madden's work and it was equally well known that several of the younger children as well as Christopher Temple Emmet, the eldest son, were interred there before the death of their father, Doctor Robert Emmet; that the body of the mother of Robert was placed there but a few days before his execution and that his sister, Mrs. Robert Holmes, dying a year later was also buried with her parents. It must also have been known later to the children of Thomas Addis Emmet that at the time of their uncle's execution every male member of his family, near relative or connection was dead, in exile or imprisoned, so that in consequence of this and of the disturbed state of Ireland it was impossible to place his body then in the family vault. But after the release from prison of Robert Emmet's brother-in-law, Mr. Robert Holmes, and of his maternal uncle, Mr. John Patten, the

latter must have learned from the Reverend Thomas Gamble, a connection of the family and Assistant Curate of St. Michan's Church, of his disposition of the body of Robert after he had removed it from the gate-house of Potter's Field, Dublin, on the night after the execution. It cannot be supposed that these two gentlemen, who were men of great prominence and lived for over fifty years in Dublin after that event, remained ignorant of the disposition of their relative's body. Nor is it possible that, had there been any doubt in the minds of his relatives in New York that Robert's body had not been finally placed at rest with his father and mother, the fact would not at least have been discussed; for even before the death of Thomas Addis Emmet no reason for secrecy any longer existed. All the facts must have been known to at least ten members of the family, the last of whom did not die until the writer had passed middle life.

No one now living knows when the body of Robert Emmet was removed from the receiving vault of St. Michan's Church where it is believed to have been placed by Mr. Gamble. But it is known that Robert's sister, Mrs. Holmes, was interred in the family vault in St. Peter's about a year after his death; and for some unexplained reason this interment took place at a late hour in the night. Why could it not have taken place, as was the usual custom, publicly and in daylight? It is a not unnatural inference, in the absence of any other known reason or plausible theory for so unusual a procedure, that the same hour and place were chosen for the removal also of her brother's body and its final interment in the family tomb. The lateness of the hour and the darkness, combined with the necessary opening of the vault, would have made the transference of Robert Emmet's body and its burial feasible with secrecy and the avoidance of public disturbance.

It was only at the time of the writer's last visit to his old friend, Dr. Madden in Dublin in the summer of 1880 that he was impressed with the possibility that Robert Emmet's body lay in the Protestant Cemetery of Glasneven. He yielded to Dr. Madden's opinion in this because of the latter's thorough and extended study and investigation of the subject. Elsewhere¹ this visit and Dr. Madden's opinions and information on the subject have been

¹ *The Emmet Family, etc.*

given in full. Since Dr. Madden's death the writer has realized the fact from many circumstances not plain at that time that the former had, even at the time of his visit, reached an extreme old age when, as he has since learned, his mental faculties had become greatly impaired. At that time he gave the writer several letters which proved that he had forgotten other circumstances and had wandered away from facts which in earlier life he had accepted as proven. One of the letters in question, written many years before, was from the Reverend Patrick Carroll, rector of the parish church of Glasneven, in answer to an inquiry of Dr. Madden. Mr. Carroll therein stated that in his efforts to clear up the churchyard, on taking over the parish, he had set upright a number of headstones which had fallen and encumbered the walks and that he recollected personally placing the stone, which is now popularly supposed to cover the grave of Robert Emmet, in its present position in order to get it out of the way; that he had had it moved from some distance and from the other side of the churchyard. Dr. Carroll's statement may be taken for what it is worth.

In St. Michan's churchyard, on the left-hand side going from the church down the central pathway, there is an uninscribed, flat tombstone which has for many years been regarded as covering Robert Emmet's grave. For some years past this grave has been cared for and protected from desecration by Mr. J. F. Fuller, of Dublin, who is a distant connection of the family of Robert Emmet's mother.

At the beginning of the investigations about to be described, no one doubted that full proof would be found in one of the three situations designated of the actual place of his burial.

Chiefly upon the representations of Francis J. Bigger, Esq., of Belfast, and the recently published work of David A. Quaid, Esq., on Robert Emmet, the writer took the first steps in these investigations. These gentlemen kindly undertook to obtain the necessary permits and particularly through the efforts of Mr. Quaid, who was a resident of Dublin, all arrangements were perfected by July 4th of this year. At an early hour on Monday, July 6, 1903, in the presence of Messrs. Bigger, Quaid, Fuller, the Rev. Stanford F. H. Robinson, Assistant Curate, Robert Emmet, a son of the writer, and the writer himself, a wide trench

was dug towards the west along the south wall of St. Peter's churchyard. This excavation was extended from the foundations of the old guard-house for twenty-eight feet beyond the supposed site of the Emmet vault on the southeast part of the yard. In this distance a vault was uncovered eight feet long by eight and a half feet wide, with the tops of two brick graves which were unopened. As far as the excavation extended, along the south wall of the enclosure and in line with the east wall of the new portion of the transept and almost to the south wall of the church, a concrete surface was exposed about eight inches in thickness. This seemed to have been spread over the original surface of the yard, after the headstones and footstones had been removed, and upon it the earth had been filled in increasing in depth towards the west. The top of the vault found was ten feet west of the foundations of the guard-house, projected above the concrete and was near the present surface of the ground. This vault, which occupied the supposed situation of the Emmet vault, was opened at both ends after the removal of the concrete and earth which covered the remains of a flight of stone steps. The vault contained four coffins in a fair state of preservation. On two of these were coffin plates bearing different names and, from the dates inscribed, it is probable that they were the last buried before the prohibitive law went into operation. It was probably the receiving vault of the church. Nothing in connection with the Emmet family was found throughout a careful search of five days, during which an excavation was also made along the south wall of the church to the right of the entrance on that side. At different points openings were made in the concrete surface and the ground in every direction probed and sounded by means of an iron crowbar to the depth of several feet. It was demonstrated by these means that only the single vault found existed in that portion of the churchyard. In no instance were the remains in any grave disturbed or even approached with the crowbar within four or five feet. Throughout these operations one or more of the gentlemen mentioned above was always present to superintend the work.

So far nothing had been discovered to show that Robert Emmet was not finally buried in the family vault in this churchyard but, if Dr. Madden's description of the locality of the vault in its

relation to the present entrance of the church is correct and if Fitzpatrick's statement is true that it was located in the south-east corner of the churchyard, or more properly in that relation to the guard-house which formerly occupied that situation, the fact is now clearly established that the Emmet vault and others if they existed in that neighborhood have at some later period been demolished and filled in. The only other hypothesis is that both Dr. Madden and Fitzpatrick were wrong in regard to the locality they both ascribed to it. What disposition was made of the large, flat, inscribed stone which marked its site and covered the opening to the vault in Madden's time? If it had been left *in situ* and the top of the vault covered over, this stone would have been found above the concrete; if it had been left on the surface of the ground, it would have been found beneath the concrete. We must therefore either assume that it was deliberately destroyed or removed and deposited elsewhere. In this connection the fact is noteworthy that it is not to be found among the hundreds of others already referred to, which are carefully preserved even to the pieces which in many cases have been broken off.

The present church has a large entrance at the back or west side, which, according to the recent testimony of a number of persons did not exist in the old church. Before the present church was altered, White Friars Street, on the west side, was much above the level of the churchyard. Therefore, the present main entrance to the church would have been very awkwardly placed and, if it existed, could only have been reached by a series of steps. It is an interesting circumstance that, if we assume that Dr. Madden had reference in his description to an entrance then existing on the west side, it is in reality the only spot whose locality would be termed "along the south wall" of both the enclosure and of the church. At the same time it would also be to the right both of an entrance *from* the street and *to* the church. Therefore, it was still possible that the Emmet vault was located in the southwest portion of the enclosure, along the south wall of the churchyard and also of the church.

At this point in the investigations, further search in St. Peter's churchyard was suspended until the necessary permission to extend the excavation along the whole south wall of both the church

and enclosure could be obtained from the authorities. The extreme degree of courtesy already shown by the church authorities throughout the investigation makes the hope that this will be granted a plausible one.

In the meanwhile, to save time and avoid possible future delay, the uninscribed grave in St. Michan's churchyard, already referred to, was opened on August 1st in the presence of Messrs. Quaid, Fuller, Lambert H. Ormsby, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland, of 92 Merrion Square, Dublin, and Alexander Frazer, Professor of Anatomy, of 18 Northbrook Street, Dublin.

In this grave the remains of two bodies were found. First, that of a girl of about thirteen years; below, at the depth of six feet, that of a man which, after a careful examination of his skull and jaw-bones had been made by the surgeons present, was pronounced by them to have been at least seventy years of age at the time of his death. The cervical vertebræ also were perfect—a crucial test in regard to the body of Robert Emmet—and the length and size of the thigh-bone proved him to have been a very tall and powerful man. Robert Emmet was neither. After a thorough examination the bones were replaced and the grave filled in.

This discovery proves, beyond peradventure, that Robert Emmet was not buried in this grave which has for so long a time been popularly ascribed to him.

It is regrettable that, at the moment at which this volume goes to press, the investigations have not been carried beyond the point described above. At the time of this writing, therefore, part of St. Peter's churchyard has been thoroughly explored, with negative results; the uninscribed tomb in St. Michan's has been thoroughly explored, with positive results—Robert Emmet *was not* buried there. There still remains, in the sifting of *all* the evidence left us by tradition, a thorough search for the Emmet family vault in the remaining unexamined portion of St. Peter's churchyard and, this proving vain, the uninscribed grave in the Protestant churchyard of Glasneven.

A thorough investigation was subsequently made by Messrs. Quaid and Fuller of every other portion of St.

Peter's church-yard, as well as that part covered by the transept and which was being refloored at the time, but without being able to locate the family vault. But under the transept a headstone was found which had marked the grave of Christopher Temple Emmet, Robert Emmet's eldest brother, and who was in all probability buried in close proximity to his father's vault. Until this stone was found it was supposed that Temple Emmet's remains, in accord with tradition, were deposited in the family vault. As nothing was found but this headstone, and on which was also inscribed the name of an elder sister, it is possible that the remains of both may have been disinterred and placed in the father's vault when it was subsequently built and the headstone was likely buried where it was found on filling in the empty grave.

It was thought advisable to mark the locality where this gravestone of Christopher Emmet was found. In accordance with this determination the gravestone was let into the wall on the west side of the transept and above it was placed a large brass mural tablet with the inscription :

“This wall stands over the supposed site of the Emmet Family Vault which was apparently removed to make room for the foundations of the new transept. Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D., of New York and other members of the family have had this brass placed here, A.D. 1908.”

To obtain permission from the vestry of the church to place this memorial, it was necessary to substitute *removed* for the term *destroyed!*

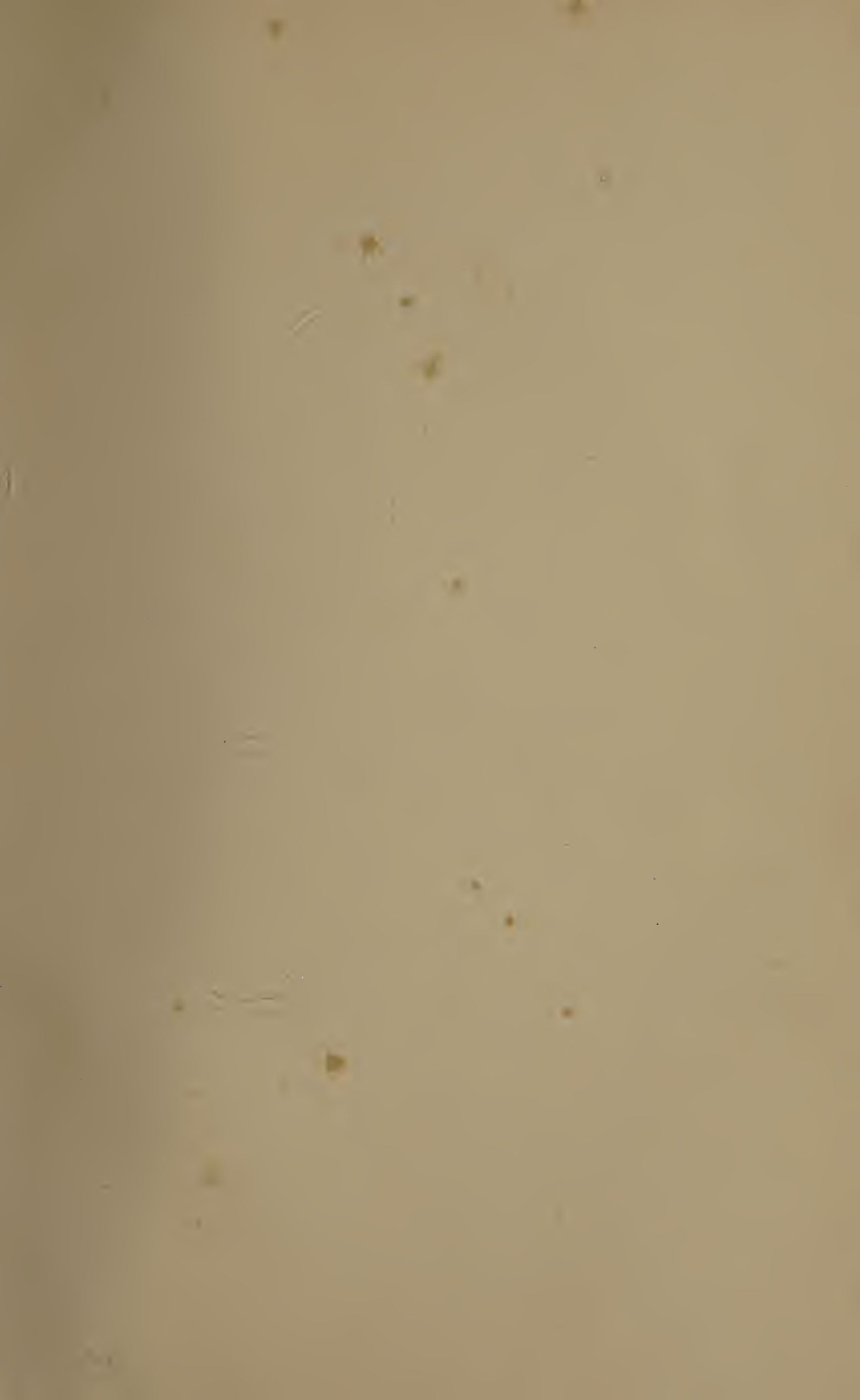
A Dublin paper states :

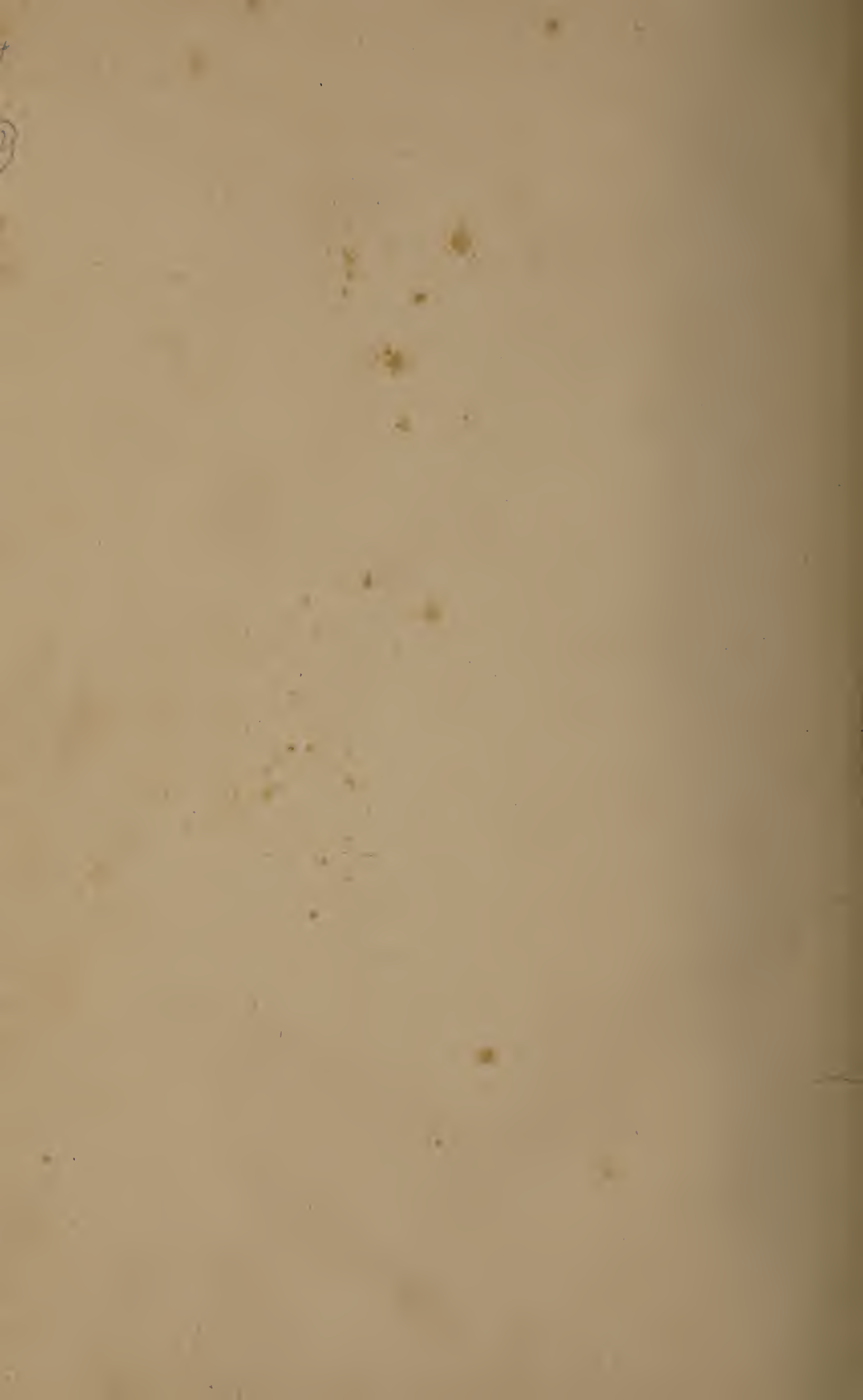
“The present representative of the family Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York, and his sons, have borne the cost of the memorial. The armorial bearings are beautifully done in correct heraldic colours, and at the four corners of the brass are the emblems of the four Evangelists. The lettering is raised and on a dark background instead of being simply incised. The ornamental margin is done in Celtic ornament brought out in colour.”

The family vault had evidently been destroyed, filled in and covered over with cement so that its locality could never be identified.

The supposed grave of Robert Emmet in the Protestant church-yard at Glasneven was also investigated by David A. Quaid, Esq., but nothing was found to the depth of eight feet, thus corroborating the statement made by the Rev. Mr. Carroll that the headstone did not mark a grave, but had been placed there by him to get rid of it.

END OF VOLUME I.





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